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PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

Louisiana Historical Society, *La.*

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA.

v. 2

VOLUME II.

NEW ORLEANS:
PUBLISHED BY THE LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
1902.

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PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA.

Vol. II. Part I.

1897.

NEW ORLEANS:
L. Graham & Son, Ltd., Printers, 207-211 Baronne St.
1898.

EXTRACTS FROM THE MINUTES
OF THE
LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

TULANE HALL, March 19, 1897.

The society met at 8 P. M., President Fortier in the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved. President Fortier appointed the following committees to serve during the ensuing year:

Finance: Messrs. Livaudais, Kohn and Grima.

Work and Archives: Dr. Devron, Professor Ficklen and Mr. C. G. Gill.

Membership: Messrs. Favrot, Williams and Professor Beyer.

After the regular routine of business, Dr. O'Hagan, of Canada, one of the visitors to the Catholic Winter School, gave a brief and interesting talk on the literary development of Canada as exemplified in its poetry. The comparison he established between such development in Canada and in Louisiana was clear and forcible. The French language in Canada, however, not having been sustained as in Louisiana by such constant intercourse with the mother country, was noticeably inferior in purity and elegance to that spoken and written in Louisiana.

Mr. Allain Eustis was then introduced by the president. He exhibited to the society a pamphlet, entitled: "Les Confessions de Napoléon, Manuscrit venu de Ste. Hélène d'une manière inconnue," published by Murray in London, in 1817; a pamphlet of great historical and political importance in its day. Mr. Eustis gave an account of how he came into the possession of the rare publication, and enumerated where the few known copies were to be found, concluding with a

vivid description of the mystery that had surrounded it until recently, when the author was discovered to be M. Lullien de Chateaufvieux, of Geneva, Switzerland.

Miss Kate Minor deposited with the society for safe keeping the following documents, formerly belonging to Gov. Gayoso: Benedict Arnold to Benjamin Lamb, bond for £150, February 3, 1763. Levee Ordinance signed by Carondelet, June 20, 1792. Appointment of Bernard Lintot, treasurer of Adams county, Miss., by Winthrop Sargent, Governor of Mississippi Territory, April 5, 1799. Power of Attorney from Henry Overton, to Bernard Lintot, London, March 31, 1767.

Mr. Gaspard Cusachs exhibited the series of royal ordinances relating to Louisiana from 1725 to 1764, in perfect preservation.

Professor Beyer reported that Dr. Rudolph Matas, the highest local authority on craniology, advised that the Larto mound skull, submitted to him for examination, be forwarded to the Scientific Societies of Paris, for their judgment upon it.

President Fortier repeated a suggestion from Prof. Hanno Deiler, that the society should take steps to secure the contents of the corner-stone of the old Law Building on Common street, about to be demolished. The suggestion was put in the form of a resolution and adopted, with the amendment that a photograph of the building should also be secured.

MEETING OF APRIL 21, 1897.

A communication from Prof. Otis Mason of the Smithsonian Institution was read. Professor Mason warmly commended the work done by Professor Beyer in the excavations of the Catahoula mounds, and expressed the hope that the work of mound investigation in Louisiana would be continued.

President Fortier took occasion to speak of the advantage of such work in the society, and expressed the opinion that the society should contribute as much as possible to the further prosecution of it. Professor Beyer stated that he intended to return to Catahoula to continue the exploration

begun, and that he also proposed to investigate some of the shell mounds of the State.

The secretary of the society was authorized to send to Mr. Justin Winsor, Librarian of Harvard University, a set of the society's publications.

On motion of Mr. Favrot the following amendment to the Constitution was adopted:

That the name of the treasurer of the society be added to the Executive Committee.

Mr. Gill presented the following resolution, which, after some discussion, was adopted:

WHEREAS, The late calamity of the Moresque Building fire has brought to our notice the insecurity from fire of the Fisk Free and Public Library building, which at one time during the conflagration was threatened with destruction, this society respectfully and earnestly petitions the Honorable Governor and Secretary of State to withhold their order for the removal of the valuable historical collections of the State Library to the said building until such time as the fears expressed in the resolution be proved, to the satisfaction of the Governor, groundless.

President Fortier appointed Judge King and Professor Ficklen a committee to present the memorial to the Governor.

Dr. Castellanos then read a most interesting account of the early history of the Charity Hospital, collected from sources of information hitherto unknown and unpublished.

MEETING OF MAY 19, 1897.

President Fortier, on behalf of the Executive Committee, recommended that fifty dollars be voted by the society to assist Prof. Beyer in carrying on his mound investigations. The sum was voted unanimously. A letter from Governor Foster was read acknowledging receipt of the communication from Judge King and Prof. Ficklen in regard to the removal of the books of the State Library to the building of the Fisk Free and Public Library. In the name of Mr. A. D. Windom, of Washington, D. C., Mr. Favrot presented to the

society some photographic views of old buildings of New Orleans.

Mr. Favrot offered to procure from Baton Rouge for the society the two chairs in which Galvez and Dixon sat during the proceedings of the capitulation of Fort Galvez. The offer was gratefully accepted.

On motion of Mr. Beer a copy of that portion of the treaty of Paris which related to the Louisiana purchase was ordered printed in the proceedings of the society.

Mr. Bell submitted to the society an autograph letter of Iberville, owned by Mr. John Boyd Thatcher.

Mr. Favrot then read a paper replete with new historical data upon the echo, as he called it, of the Revolution in Baton Rouge and the West Florida parishes. Mr. Favrot supplemented his composition with the original document from which it was derived.

Dr. Devron exhibited to the society a curious document that throws light on one of the dark places in Louisiana history. This was a certificate of the man who conveyed M. Aubry, the French Commander of Louisiana, in a canoe two miles and a half below the city to the ship in which he sailed for France. The man certifies that Aubry took with him two chests containing each, at least, ten thousand livres; a sack filled with money, and in addition, carried in his purse from fifteen to sixteen thousand livres; the two chests and the sack being deposited in the captain's cabin, which Aubry had engaged for the voyage. Dr. Devron also read the sworn statement by the five survivors of the loss of this ship with crew, cargo and passengers in the mouth of the Garonne; mentioning in the inventory of the cargo the chests and a sack of money. Dr. Devron, in a short address on these documents, made the point that inference was unavoidable that this money in the possession of Aubry had come to him through Spain, and, therefore, in payment for the information furnished by him to O'Reilly, which led to the conviction and execution of the five French patriots.

MOUNDS in Franklin Parish La.

Crow-ville

Rock
Hill

see Creek

Church

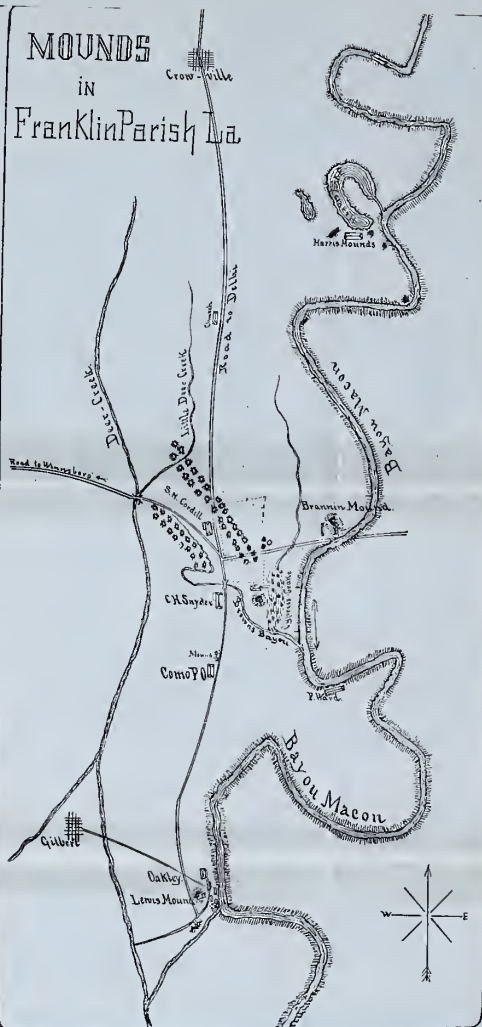
Road to Delbar

Harris Mounds

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MOUNDS in Franklin Parish La.



MEETING OF JUNE 16, 1897.

No papers read. After the usual order of business, a resolution was unanimously passed expressing the sincere grief of the society over the death of its member, His Grace Archbishop Janssens. The society adjourned to meet on the third Wednesday in October.

MEETING OF DECEMBER 8, 1897.

This meeting was held in the assembly room of Tulane Hall, to which members and guests had been invited to listen to Prof. Beyer's report on his last mound investigations. A large number was in attendance. President Fortier in calling the meeting to order took occasion to speak of the gratifying progress the society had made since its reorganization. The lapse in the meetings, he said, it was hardly necessary to explain, was due to the visitation of the yellow fever and consequent precautions established by the Board of Health.

Professor Beyer read the able report, which is incorporated in the present number of the society's publication.

 THE MOUNDS OF LOUISIANA.

By PROF. GEORGE E. BEYER, Tulane University.

II.

The adjective "New" was applied to this continent at the time of its discovery by Columbus, and the "New World" it has remained ever since. The researches of geologists have revealed to us, however, that this continent has not only furnished to geology the oldest landmarks, but has also given us evidences in favor of a high advancement of art contemporaneous with the civilization of some of the oldest nations of Africa, Asia and Europe.

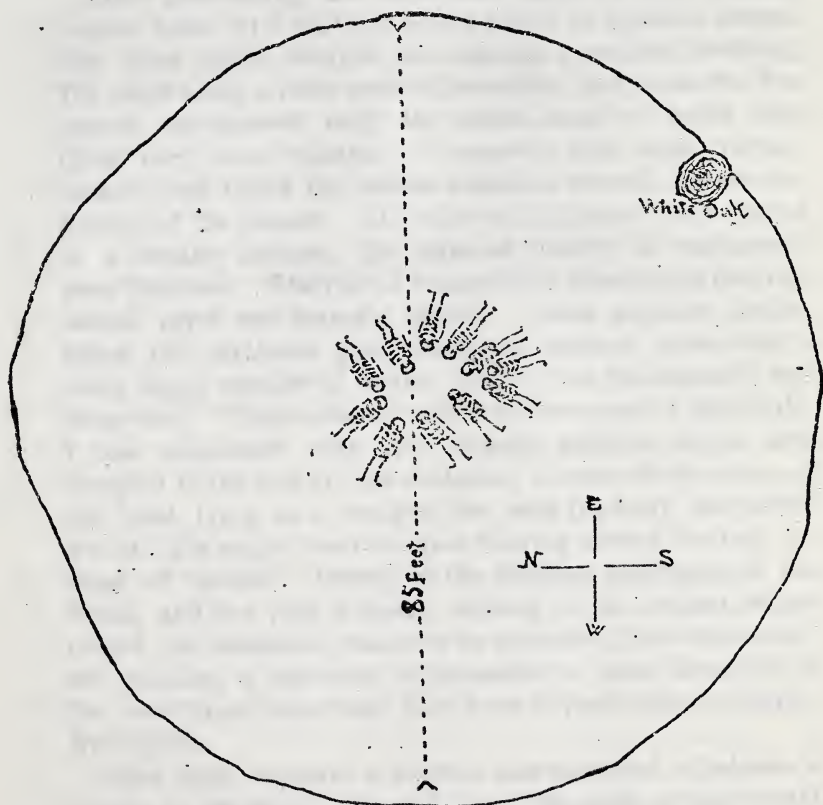
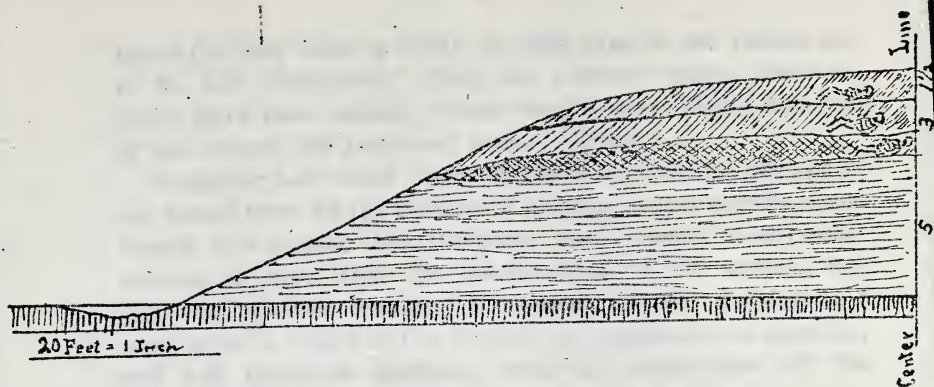
Ever since the adoption of America by the Caucasian race, the greatest interest has been manifested in the origin of the people from whom the intruders wrested a new home for them-

selves. Explorations have resulted, as it were, in the formation of two factions of ethnologists; one contending for a unity of the purely Indian race, and the other for pre-existing races and a subsequent continuity and infusion of other than purely Indian element. The latter faction, who found their chief advocate in Dr. T. M. Harris, saw proofs of skill and culture implying the hand of a superior race, and the influence of a higher civilization. On the other hand, the followers of Bishop Madison could see in the relics of the mound builders no evidence of art higher than, or of tendencies different from those of existing Indians. What bearing the results of our investigations in Louisiana, and those of Mr. Cushing in Marco, Florida, may have upon the question at issue, we leave to the discernment of the reader.

The investigations into Louisiana archæology, commenced during the summer of 1896, were continued this year under the auspices of the Tulane University and the Louisiana Historical Society. In the following pages I have endeavored to delineate the results of the excavations of mounds located in certain sections of Franklin and Natchitoches parishes. I have also tried to draw comparisons between the materials collected, and to determine the relative positions which our Louisiana earthworks occupy toward each other.

The work was begun June 22, on a mound located on the property of Mr. C. H. Snyder, of Como, Franklin parish. The mound is on the edge of a small cypress brake and a short distance from the left bank of Brown's Bayou. It was of medium size, having but eighty-five feet base diameter and a height of eight feet, with a surface area of fifty feet. It was covered with vegetation, several large trees growing on the northwest slope. The trench around the base was still discernible. On the edge of the mound and the trench a white oak flourished until a year ago, when it was sawed down.

The level surface of the stump, however, was so badly disfigured by exposure as to render the accurate counting of the cortical layers an impossibility when the centre was approached. I was enabled to reach the number of 251 rings,



Snyder Mound, Como, Franklin Parish La.

but at the very heart a width of fully nine or ten inches had to be left uncounted. Sixty or seventy rings, however, could have been added, which would have placed the age of that tree at 300 years and more. (Plate I.)

No matter how much the correctness of counting the age of our forest trees by the number of cortical layers may be questioned, it is certain that the white oak referred to only commenced to grow after the construction of the mound; but then the question remains, how much later? Further on I shall have to return to the subject of vegetation on mounds, and will therefore continue with the exploration of the mound under consideration.

After penetrating the superficial layer of clay, I found human bones at a depth of about fifteen or eighteen inches; they were badly decayed and scarcely permitted touching. The shaft being a little west of the centre, and about five feet square, encountered only the skulls, some of which were lying very close together. I removed the earth further around, and found the bodies extended toward the circumference of the mound. All bodies in this layer were buried in a circular manner. No signs of pottery or implements were disclosed. The line of demarcation between the first and second layer was scarcely visible. About eighteen inches below the skeletons just mentioned, another layer with a much larger number of bodies, buried in a like manner, was unearthed. While endeavoring to remove some of the skulls, I was impressed with the singular position which they occupied to the rest of the skeleton; instead of the crown of the head lying in a straight line with the body, the vertex was at right angles, and the face looking toward the feet, instead of upward. Owing to the decayed condition of the bones, and the very compact settling of the mound, which caused the embedded bones to be disturbed from their original position, it was next to impossible to count them, but in the two layers there must have been at least thirty or thirty-five bodies.

After their removal a distinct line appeared to indicate a change of material. Now and then, the spade or pick would

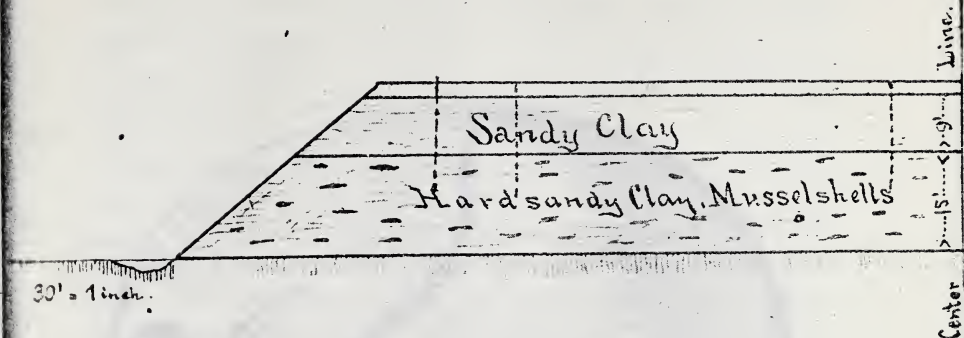
come into contact with a small unio-valve, and once only a broken arrow-point was encountered. Of pottery the only sign was an undecorated piece about two inches square, which evidently was a fragment when it entered the mound. In the third layer of rather sandy clay I found two skeletons. One had been buried with the feet toward the south, the other toward the northeast. I removed one of the fractured skulls, and while picking the loose soil from its interior, a well-shaped arrow-point fell out, indicating at once the cause of death. A nearly completely decayed pot with a rather unusual design scratched into it was discovered within a few inches of the head. A small fragment only was secured.

In point of size all the bodies indicated a much smaller stature than those of Larto and other mounds found later on. The type of skull is figured in Plate III, and presents no exceptional points from other purely Indian types. The exploration of this mound resulted in its complete destruction.

The next mound to which I turned my attention is located only two miles by air line northeast of the Snyder mound, and not more than 500 yards from the right bank of Bayou Macon. This proved to be of considerable interest from the fact of its being so far the only rectangular mound in Louisiana, west of the Mississippi. It covers considerable space, the base dimensions being about 240 feet northwest to southeast, and 130 feet northeast to southwest. Its height is, at present, between 22 and 23 feet, with a surface area of 6750 square feet. The entire mound was covered with vegetation, several large sweet-gum, walnut and hickory trees growing on the sides.

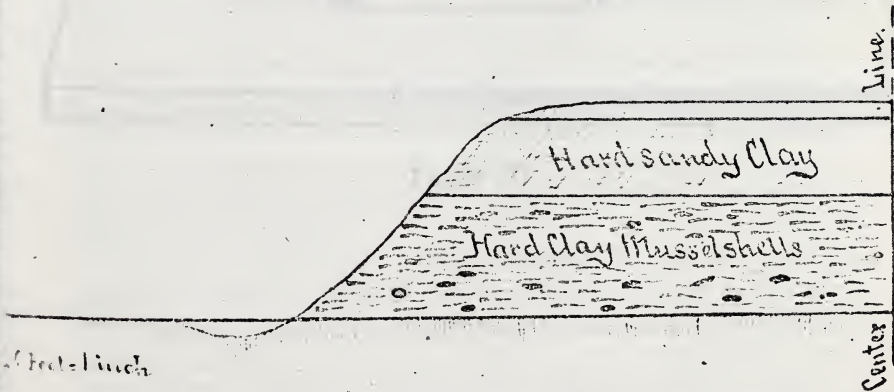
The northwest slope appeared to be greatly washed; it was, therefore, impossible to determine if there had existed on that side of the mound a terrace or not. The top has evidently been under cultivation, for the furrows were still visible. Close examination of the entire surface failed to show broken pottery or even flint fragments. Four excavations were made into the mound. The first was carried to the depth of about nine feet, through very hard and compact sandy clay. Not a vestige of anything else was found until some mussel

Fig. 1.



Vertical section Brannin-Mound, Como, La.

Fig. 2.



Vertical section Lewis Mound, Oakley, La.

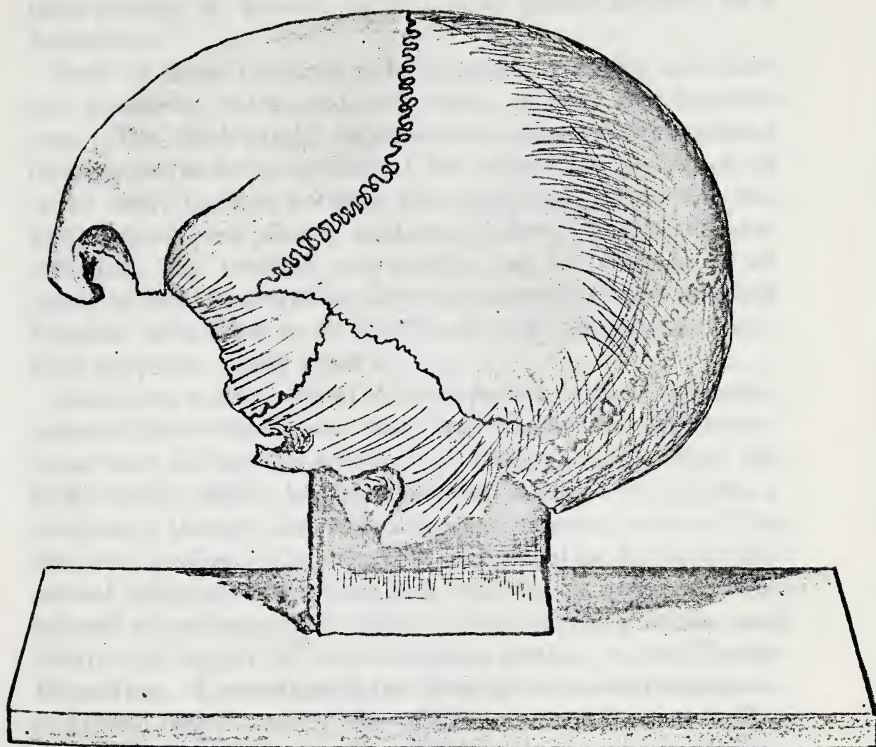


PLATE III.

shells appeared, indicating at the same time a change of material. The soil was now a compact and greasy clay.

On the following day another excavation was made about eight feet northeast of the first. It was carried deeper, but no other conditions or evidences were brought to light. A third attempt to procure better results proved as futile as a fourth one.

Both of these trenches were directed from the northeast and northwest sides, and only three or four feet from the base. The hard sandy clay and the mussel shells extended throughout the lower portion of the mound to a height of 14 or 15 feet; the line between this and the upper portion was well defined, and clearly indicated different periods of construction. Its location and height and the absence of all debris of either habitation or burial shows that this so-called Brannin mound was in all likelihood used for signal or sacrificial purposes. (See Plate II, Fig. 1.)

About ten miles south of Como there is a connecting branch between Bayou Macon and Deer Creek, called Cut-off Bayou. Some time during the summer of 1884, and soon after the high water, which had flooded that section, Dr. Griffin, a resident of Oakley, discovered human remains in one of the deep rain washes. Upon further investigation he unearthed several skeletons of adults and infants, as well as some articles of pottery. The latter were recovered entire, and finally sent as part of the Louisiana exhibit to the Chicago Exposition. I investigated the locality on several occasions, and found that it was the site of three mounds, about half a mile apart. The first one, at the junction of Bayou Macon and Cut-off Bayou, was in the form of breastworks, whereas the second, which is about 800 yards further down on Cut-off Bayou, is of oval shape.

The land on which this second mound is located has been under cultivation for many years; in fact, it was one of the first clearings in that section of the parish, and consequently but little of the mound was left when I investigated it. It was evidently never a very high one, although it must have covered a considerable area. The deep gullies, caused by

rain, made a thorough examination comparatively easy, and one day's work sufficed to bring to light the remaining portions of the mound. It was impossible, however, to find out whether there had been more than one layer in the course of construction. I found partial remains of two adult skeletons, apparently buried from southwest to northeast. Pottery, broken into small fragments, was lying around in quantities, some plain, some decorated.* Not more than eighteen or twenty inches from the surface I recovered a few arrow points and the end prong of a deer-antler. In one place at about the same depth I came upon a very large piece of friable sandstone, which, as I ascertained afterward, was used to sharpen and polish the stone implements.

Next I turned my attention to the third structure of this group—the Lewis mound. Scarcely inferior in dimensions to the Brannin mound, it differed from it in not being rectangular. It has a base diameter of about 160 feet and a height of 20. The top surface is thickly covered with weeds and grass, while the sides support a number of large trees. Broken bits of pottery and flint fragments are lying scattered on the surface, and considerable amount of this litter has washed down into the still existing trench. Although the mound has always been jealously guarded by its owners, from whom I readily obtained permission to explore it, some one had succeeded in boring a large hole into the very centre. A great many people living in mound regions, nowadays, are imbued with the idea that these structures contain treasures. Frequently one hears of persons having tried to find the gold of Pirate Macon hidden in a certain mound; a great many of the real treasures of these mounds, therefore, are destroyed and scattered through the avarice of such benighted fortune hunters. Upon opening the hole, which had only been partially refilled, I found the mound constructed of hard, sandy clay, which remained unchanged to a depth of eight feet. Not a sign of human remains was unearthed, however. I abandoned work here and started to cut a trench from the east side, beginning

* See Plate V, Fig. 1.

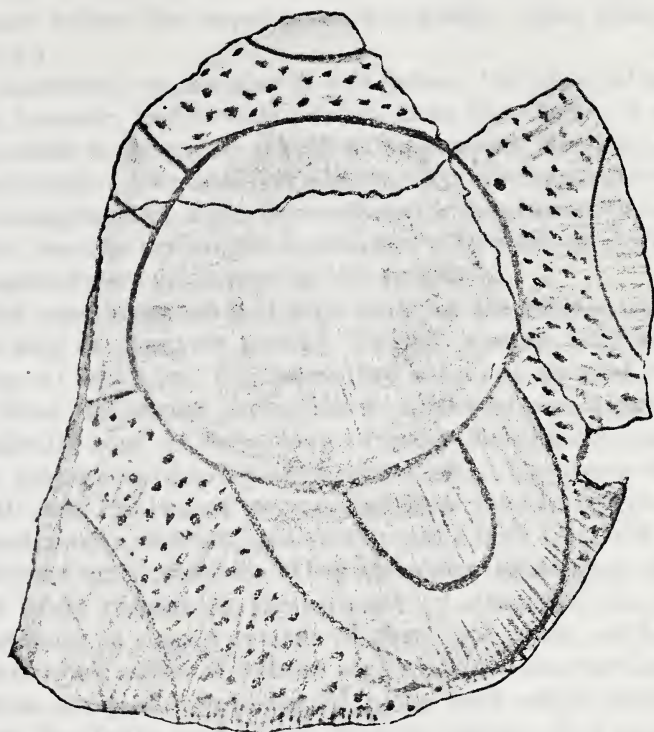


FIG. 1.

PLATE V.

about three feet above the base. Hard clay, with unio-shells freely intermingled, was the composition of, apparently, the entire mound. The sharp line of demarcation between the stratum of clay liberally interspersed with mussel shells and the one devoid of them seems to indicate that a long time elapsed before the upper layer was added. (See Plate II, Fig. 2.)

I discovered the remains of a skeleton; the principal portion, however, had already washed down the slope. It was impossible to determine the direction in which the body had been buried. No vessels or implements were found. Owing to the approach of night the work had to be abandoned, and other mounds claiming my attention afterward, no further operations were prosecuted on this structure.

Not more than one-half mile north of the Snyder mound (see map of Franklin parish) I found a most remarkable group of mounds. For nearly two miles two parallel rows of these structures extend in a northwesterly direction. Originally none of them were of great dimensions, but to-day only traces of many of them are left. They were all of small size, the largest not having more than forty-five feet base diameter with a height of four and a half feet; the majority are much smaller. They are about equidistant apart and fairly regular in arrangement. I examined the surroundings of a great number of them, but could not detect any outward signs of human activity, their construction, of course, excepted. Immediately in the road which leads off from the Delhi road to the Brannin mound, there are two of these small mounds, both of which I examined. A central excavation about four feet square was made, and carried about eighteen inches below the level. The material of which the mounds were constructed was hard, sandy clay throughout without any stratification. In the one farthest from the main road the signs of a single burial, not more than eighteen inches from the surface, were noticeable. The bones were completely decayed, and only the well-defined contour of the chalky matter in the hard clay made it possible to recognize the skeleton, which had evidently been

buried in a northwesterly direction. Not the smallest fragment of pottery or implement was discovered with the skeleton or in any part of either mound. I examined afterward four others of these small structures, but with no better results. I believe we can assume with certainty that we have before us in this group the house sites of an ancient village. By glancing at the plan of these mounds, another smaller group which ranges along the right bank of Brown's Bayou will be seen. I did not locate them myself. The source of information, however, is such a reliable one that I did not hesitate to indicate them on the plan. To judge by the description the mounds are about the same size as those I had examined. The distance between the two chains is scarcely half a mile.

The next group to which I turned my attention is situated about ten miles from Como, on the left bank of Bayou Macon, on the farm of Mr. T. A. Harris. I was indebted to him for the privilege of examination as well as considerable information in regard to the structure of these earthworks as they appeared many years ago. Mr. Harris' farm was one of the first in that section of our State, and the original log house, still in existence, was erected in 1811 by his father. The cypress timbers which were used in building the house are as good to-day as they were then. While clearing the woods three mounds were discovered. On some, so Mr. Harris' father told his family many times, large trees were growing, and for years afterward no one was permitted to disturb the mounds. Within the last twenty or twenty-five years the plows have made sad havoc with their surfaces. Vessels, stone hatchets, skin-scrapers and arrow-heads have been brought up time and again. Skeletons of the mound architects have been torn from their resting place, and the scattered fragments of bones are slowly disappearing now.

In years gone by, even before the settlement of this farm, Bayou Macon made in its course a very sharp, horseshoe-shaped turn. Evidently the stream, cutting across the intervening space, transformed a part of its former bed into the so-called Harris lake. From the position of the mounds it

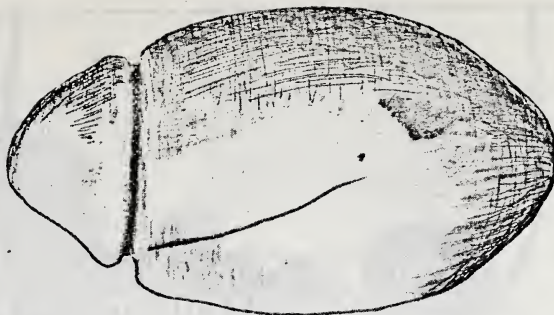
would appear that this transformation took place after their construction, for the lake bed has been filling up continually and scarcely two feet of water now remains in any part of the lake.

Three of the mounds are close together, while a fourth is about two miles down on the bayou. It was not examined. The largest mound is designated as No. 1 on the plan. It is oval, 200 feet long, 100 feet wide and 10 feet high. Continuous ploughing had reduced the original height five feet or more. Of the circumvallations hardly any marks are left. As the entire mound was under cultivation the excavations could not be carried on very extensively. Southwest of the centre I made a trench about eight feet long, two feet wide and four feet deep. The mound appeared to be constructed entirely of rather greasy clay. The superficial layer could not be determined, as most all of it had been removed. While digging the trench nothing was brought to light, but upon moving a little further west, and within eighteen inches of the surface, I found human bones, which seemed to belong to a single individual. Removal was impossible, owing to decay. Near this skeleton a small green stone axe was found. Other implements taken from this mound are of considerable interest, but were found without any definite position, and immediately under the surface. Of considerable value is a piece of stone, about three inches thick, which had been used as a mortar; the pestle belonging to it is nearly globular and very symmetrical. Of equal interest are two large celts, one of flint, the other of porphyry, as well as a plummet of red sandstone.

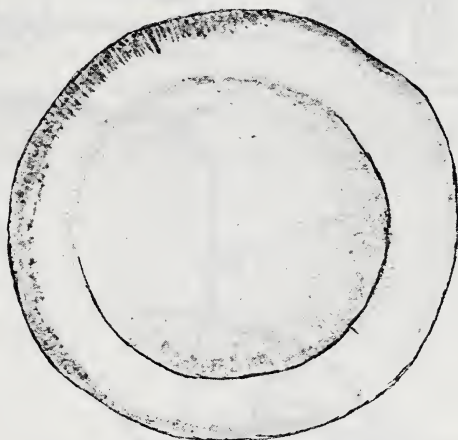
Mound No. 2 of this group was more extensively explored. It is located near the edge of the lake. The larger part has been under cultivation for nearly twenty years, but the remaining portion had been disturbed very little. It was originally a large structure, and must have measured fully 200 feet at its base diameter. Before it was cultivated it had a height of 15 feet; at present, scarcely one-half of that is left. Entire skeletons, pottery and other relics had been found, but never kept. In what I judged to be the centre of

the mound, I started the excavation, which, however, was not carried to a great extent on account of the growing crop.

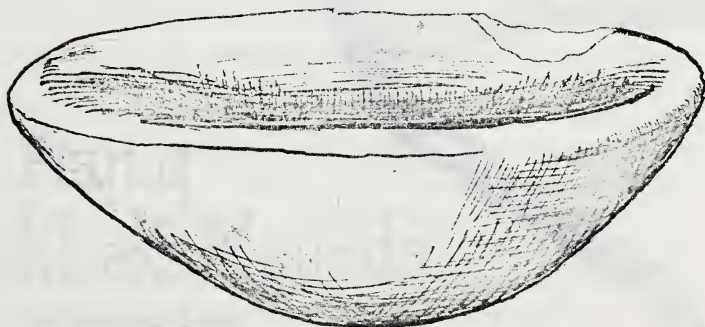
This part of the structure was composed of clay and showed no stratification. Mussel shells were found in considerable numbers. Believing that the structure would be better shown and more remains might be found in the small portion claimed to have remained intact, I sank two trenches, the first one on the north slope, the other a few feet to the eastward. Within six inches of the surface I found portions of a skeleton, but, as no long bones appeared with it, I could not determine the position. The skeleton was lying close to the field fence, and unquestionably had been disturbed before. Near this body I picked up a well-shaped arrow-point, but, excepting numerous coarse and undecorated fragments of pottery, nothing else was unearthed. The other excavation disclosed the same features of construction. Large and small shells were scattered throughout the entire mound structure, presenting the conventional two-horned dilemma, whether they entered the mound composition accidentally, or were introduced with a purpose. There were hardly any more than two or three together, and many times a foot or more of earth did not contain any. The mound builders undoubtedly used the mollusks as food article, yet why should the shells appear either singly or in such small quantities in one place and be distributed with almost regularity in another, unless it was done intentionally? The shells belonged to two species of unio, which must have been plentiful during the mound-building period. The smallest of Harris' group (No. 3) is about a quarter of a mile further down on Bayou Macon. Like the others, though, only a semblance of it is left. Very little pottery was found in former years. Mr. Harris assured me that there never were any traces of human bodies. Although I did not expect much information by excavations of this mound, I nevertheless sank a central shaft to the base. The mound was composed of hard clay, but, strange to say, the mussel shells were entirely absent. Outside of a few small pieces of coarse pottery which were lying on the sur-



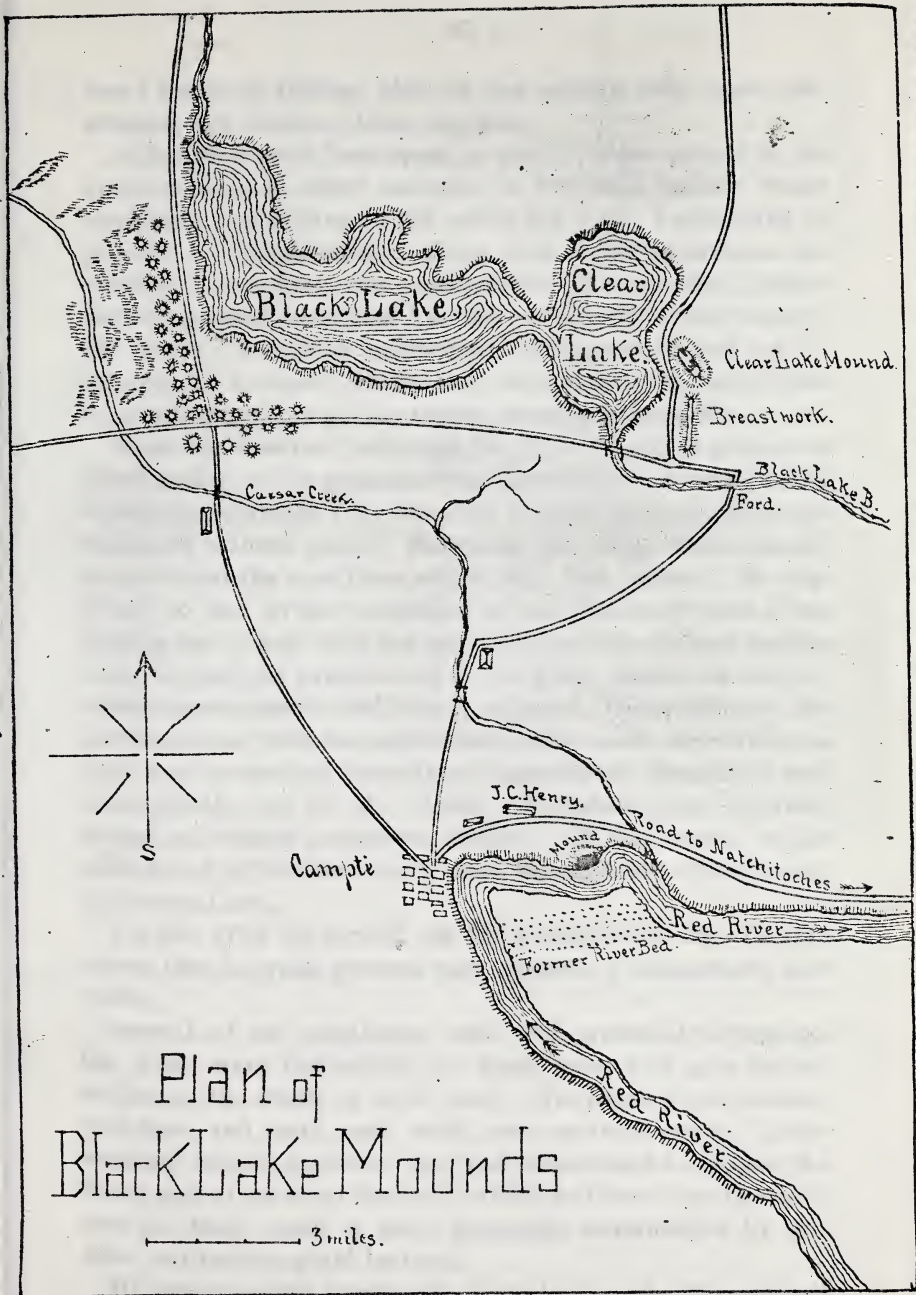
PLUMMET, FROM HARRIS MOUND.



DISCOIDAL STONE, HARRIS MOUND.



BOAT-SHAPED OBJECT. CLEAR LAKE MOUND.



face I found no further clue to the people who once constructed and dwelt on these mounds.

Although I could have spent a much longer period in the investigation of other mounds in Franklin parish, where everybody was willing to aid me in my work, I concluded to proceed to Natchitoches. From there I had received an invitation to continue the explorations of a so-called Indian burying ground, instituted by a few gentlemen of that locality. All reports promised interesting developments, and my inspection of a vessel which had been sent to our institution determined me to visit the region as early as possible.

Some six or seven years ago Mr. J. C. Henry, a planter of Natchitoches, while passing along the water-worn bank of Red River, near Campti, La., observed human bones lying at the bottom of a small gully. Scanning the steep embankment, he perceived the spot from which they had fallen. He neglected to pay proper attention to his discovery until a few months ago, when, with the assistance of two or three gentlemen, he made an examination of the place, where, off and on, other human remains had become exposed. Unfortunately, the investigations were not carried out under such strict rules as their very nature and importance imperatively demanded, and consequently one of the richest of archeological harvests turned out almost a complete failure. Of the vessels which were found at the time, many were demolished in the attempt to remove them.

The day after my arrival on the plantation of Mr. Henry, where this burying ground was located, I commenced the work.

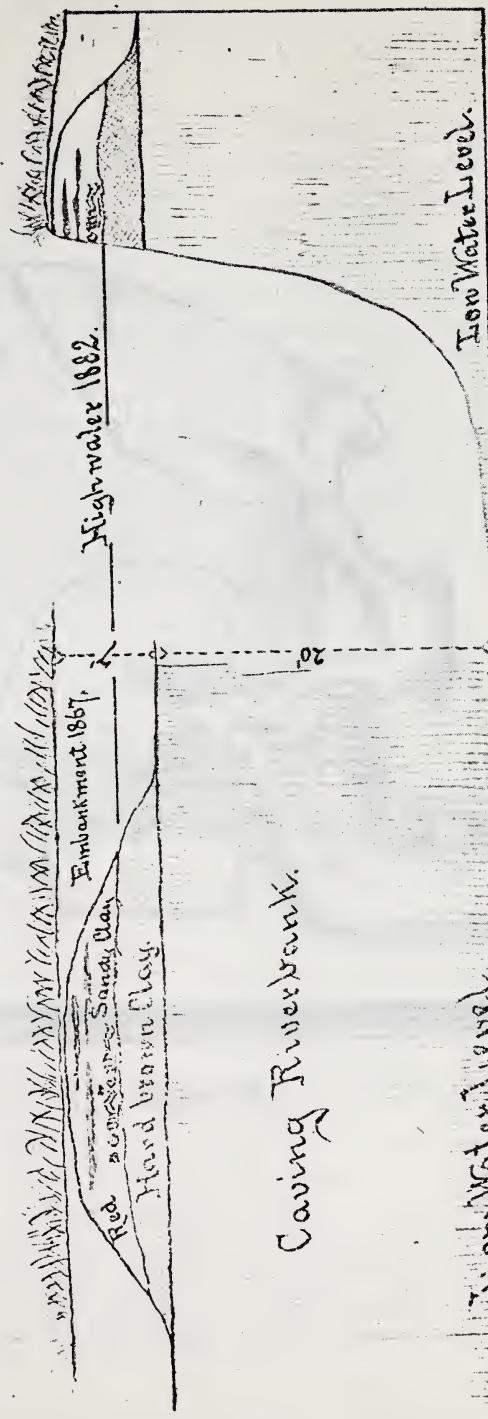
Several of the gentlemen who had previously examined the place were fortunately on hand also, and gave me an outline of the result of their work. They had found several skeletons, and near each skull one or two vessels. After working awhile, however, they had determined to replace the bones and to cover up the hole, which had been dug laterally into the bank, until a more thorough examination by our joint institutions could be made.

By removing the previously disturbed earth, I recovered

the bones and fragments of vessels and an almost entire skull. Notwithstanding numerous attempts to find another larger and more perfect skull, which had been reinterred by Mr. Henry and his companions, the search proved fruitless. The loss of that skull is a most deplorable one, as its preservation would have gone far to crown our efforts in establishing the identity of the aboriginal inhabitants of our State.

The peculiar position of this burial place puzzled us, and not until I made a smooth vertical cut of the river bank did I perceive the perfect outlines of a former mound, it having been imbedded in the embankment or levee, which was raised in or about the year 1867 by the United States engineers as a protection from overflow. A glance at the plan of this mound (Plate VIII.) will easily demonstrate its peculiar position. The plan will show how the river has been, and still is, encroaching upon its left bank. Originally its bed was a mile or more away from where it is now. All along its course extends a level country, and in past ages this was subject to periodic inundations. Upon this level the aborigines heaped the mound. Slowly but surely the river gained on its bank, until finally it reached the mound and succeeded in engulfing fully two-thirds of it and its contents in its muddy waters. One-third only was left when I began the examination; after I had finished not a vestige remained, except the loose earth which had tumbled down the steep embankment.

The mound itself was not a large one, although it may have had a base diameter of fifty feet. Its height also has diminished considerably. At the time of examination it measured only a few inches over six feet. The so-called core of the mound, which measured about four feet from top to base, consisted of exceedingly hard, dark-brown clay. Resting immediately upon it, and imbedded in a layer of red sandy clay, were the skeletons, the heads southeast, the feet northwest. The exploration by Mr. Henry and his friends yielded two bodies; all further work disclosed but one more, of which, however, the skull was missing. The bones were in a tolerably good state of preservation, and in size and general appearance resembled those from the Larto mounds. The vessels



Caving Riverbank.

Low Water Level.

Red River

Henry Mound, Campb, La.

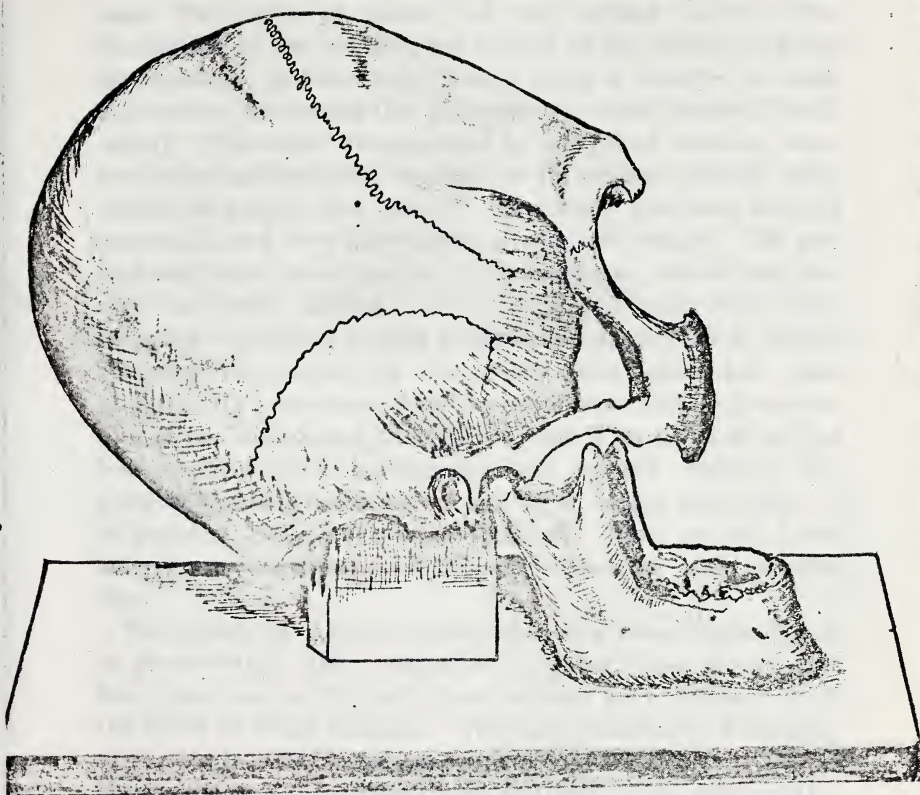


PLATE IX.

had been found deposited close to the left side of each skull. The layer of red clay in which the bodies rested was about eighteen inches thick; above it was an ash-bed, some of the wood of which had only been converted into charcoal. The layer of ashes did not extend entirely over the surface of the mound, nor was it of the same thickness throughout. In the ashes I found quite a number of unio and anodon shells and the plastron of a small turtle (*Pseudomys*). The ashes were covered by a layer of red clay, about ten inches in thickness; resting on it, another ashbed, much smaller in extent, was noticed. The wood had been entirely consumed, and very little charcoal was left behind. No pottery was found in or near it. The last layer, which had covered the entire mound, consisted of red sandy clay. The decaying vegetation formed a blackened demarcation, clearly outlining the mound in the levee. The latter had been undoubtedly instrumental in the otherwise perfect preservation of the mound and its contents, and if its exploration had been systematically commenced and carried through, the yield in valuable material, as well as a better knowledge of its position, could have been obtained. Next to the Larto mounds, it was certainly the most interesting and valuable one.

The skeletons in this structure showed a remarkable degree of preservation; they resembled in color those from Larto lake, and are in this and other respects very different from the bones of other mounds. The very remarkable formation of the skull, which characterizes the anomalous type of the Catahoula mound builders, we find here again represented. To judge by the size, the skull figured in Plate IX is evidently that of an aged female. At first sight a slight difference is noticeable, especially in the angle of the rami and in the alveolar and basilar portions of the inferior maxillary bones.

The Larto specimens are represented by a fully matured individual of about 35 years of age. The ramus is vertical, and almost at right angles in its position to the body of the lower jaw, and the alveolar portion is of about the same dimensions as the basilar. In this Henry mound skull, however, the

alveolar part being more absorbed, the basilar appears greater, and the rami are more oblique in their direction, the angle thereby becoming more obtuse. In all other most essential features, it is identical with the Larto skulls.

Even before I examined the specimen myself, the gentlemen who first opened the mound noticed at once the flat* and retreating forehead, which, so they assured me afterward, was even more noticeable in the specimens which unfortunately were not preserved.

The recurrence of these skulls this time in another section of the State will bear out the assertion, which I made last year, that we have to regard them as belonging to a type, either entirely distinct from any other so far known, or as representatives of the acient Caribs, with whom they are identical in formation and measurements, as may be seen by a comparison of the various diameters in the table:

DIAMETERS.

	Longitudinal. Inches.	Parietal. Inches.	Frontal. Inches.	Vertical. Inches.
1. Catahoula skull†.....	6.4	6.2	5.0	5.3
2. Carib	6.5	6.2	4.9	5.3
3. Natchitoches	5.9	6.0	4.6	5.5
4. Snyder Mound	7.0	5.8	4.8	5.7
5. Waukesha	6.5	5.3	4.6	5.9
6. Rockbridge.....	6.5	5.4	4.7	5.9

In comparing the longitudinal diameters of the first two skulls the difference is only .1 of an inch. The parietal and vertical diameters are alike, but in the frontal the difference of .1 of an inch is in favor of the Catahoula skull. The sex of the skull of the Red river mound is evidently the cause of the discrepency in the longitudinal and frontal diameters, as compared with the former two skulls, but we find an increase in the vertical diameter of .2 of an inch in its favor.

If we consider the skull dimensions in the aggregate of the

*By using the term "flat," the reader should not imagine that the frontal bone is entirely devoid of its natural prominences. On the contrary, the frontal eminences are well marked and show no sign of having been hindered in their development by artificial compression, which would have been necessary to produce the otherwise peculiar formation of the frontal bone. In respect to these eminences, and, in fact, in the formation of the entire plane of the os frontis, these skulls coincide with those of the Caribs.

†Owing to a defect in the instrument, when I measured the Catahoula skull last year, a slight discrepency occurs in the figures of the table above.



PLATE X

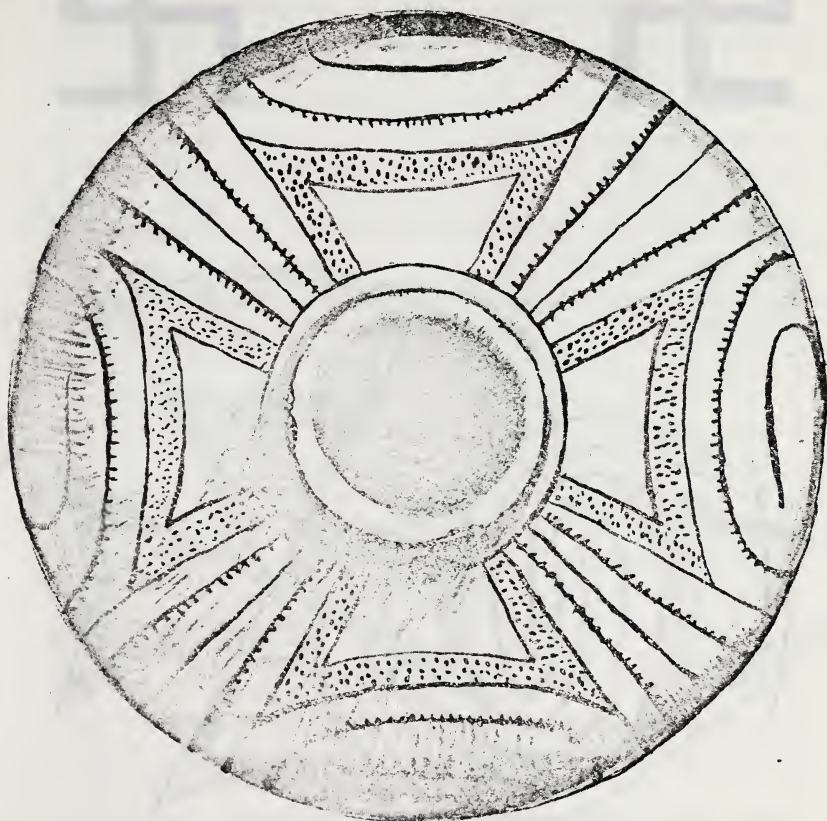


PLATE XI.

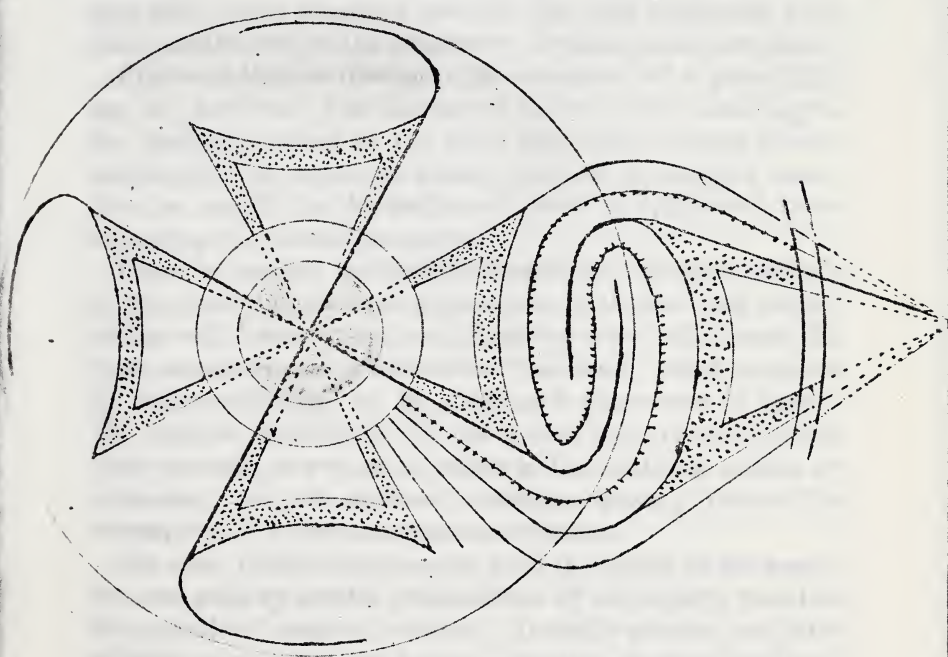


PLATE XII.

first three, against the aggregate of the Snyder, Waukesha and Virginia mound skulls, we must admit that the differences in the diameters equalize themselves, and that the brain capacity remains virtually the same in both divisions. Consequently, the apparent total absence of the frontal arch is no indication of inferior intellect, which appears to be corroborated by an inspection of pottery exhumed with them.

Subsequent developments, such as the remarkable finds of Mr. Frank H. Cushing, at Marco, Florida, and the close resemblance of certain pieces of pottery found in the Lesser Antilles with some recovered from the Larto and other mounds, still further strengthens the evidence that at one time other races inhabited parts of the gulf coast, and very likely contributed to the continuity of races on our continent.

Professor Holmes discredits the existence of a paleolithic age in America. The finding of pottery, etc., belonging to the neolithic period in the shell and earth mounds in connection with the skeletons already referred to, can give therefore no weight to the doubts of their antiquity and their belonging to a prehistoric period.

I am, at present, not ready to pronounce the earth mounds of the coast line as contemporaneous with the shell heaps: neither will I admit, just now, that they were built before the coast inundation, as is believed of the latter, which seems to be fully established by Mr. Cushing's discoveries at Marco. The general appearance of the Larto, Red river and Black Lake mounds, as well as of others in the southern section of Louisiana, not yet explored, certainly greatly favors the assumption of a contemporaneous existence.

The most reliable information as to the origin of our ancestors we gain by careful comparisons of the objects found in the mounds of various localities. It really matters but little whether such relics are broken or entire—the smallest fragment sometimes revealing points of greater importance than an entire cooking pot. To the remains of the ceramic industry, therefore, we must now direct our attention.

Compared even with the handiwork of modern times, the vase figured in Plate X will stand severe criticism. The

material of this relic was selected and prepared with care. The shape is almost faultless and the design of ornamentation is, to say the least, unique. I doubt that any other mounds of North America, so far explored, have yielded as fine an example of ancient ceramic art. The most interesting points, however, are the faithful delineations not only of the Maltese cross, so significant in itself, but combined with it that most ancient symbol of good luck and prosperity, the Swastika. In this instance the symbol is modified to a four-armed Ogee (Tetraskelion) with the arms bent to left instead of to the right.

Prof. Thomas Wilson, in his splendid monograph on the Swastika, its significance and migrations, says that the symbol found its way to the western hemisphere in prehistoric times. The first knowledge of its occurrence on objects of precolumbian origin was obtained when Dr. Edward Palmer, in 1881, found a shell-ornament with the designs of the Swastika on it, in a mound in Jefferson county, Tennessee.

To return to closer inspection of the vase, it will be noticed that the design is a double one. On Plate XII the diagram illustrates the principle, the centres of the arms of the Swastika and the Maltese crosses are situated in the mouth and bottom of the vessel, respectively. The bent ends of two Swastikas are overlapping each other, but are separated, as it were, by a punctured line, which runs from centre to centre around the entire vase, forming again into a united double Swastika. That the design is not merely an accidental one is sufficiently explained by its almost perfect symmetry and complication.

Whatever inference we may draw from the presence of two of the best known and most widely spread symbols, the Swastika and the Maltese cross, on objects taken from the Henry mound, must, at present, be only speculative. Of one point, however, we may be assured in connection with this object under consideration, that it is entirely too fine in execution to be ascribed to our North American Indians, but, on the contrary, indicates an introduction of foreign thought and element.

The vase in Plate XIII, Fig. 1, while lacking in symmetry,



FIG. 1.
VASE FROM HENRY MOUND.

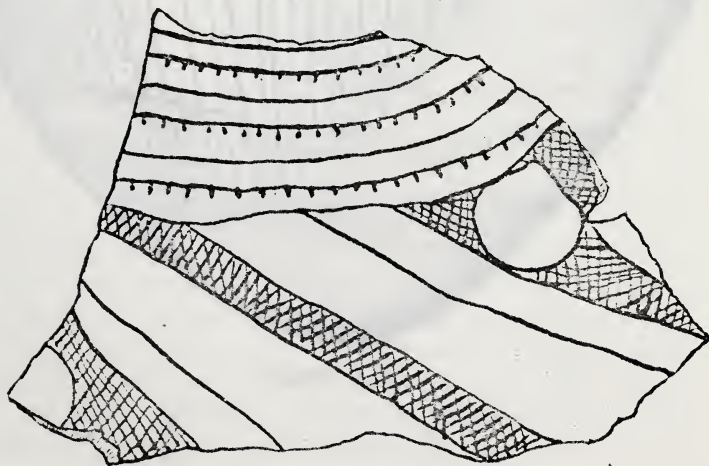


FIG. 2.
PLATE XIII.

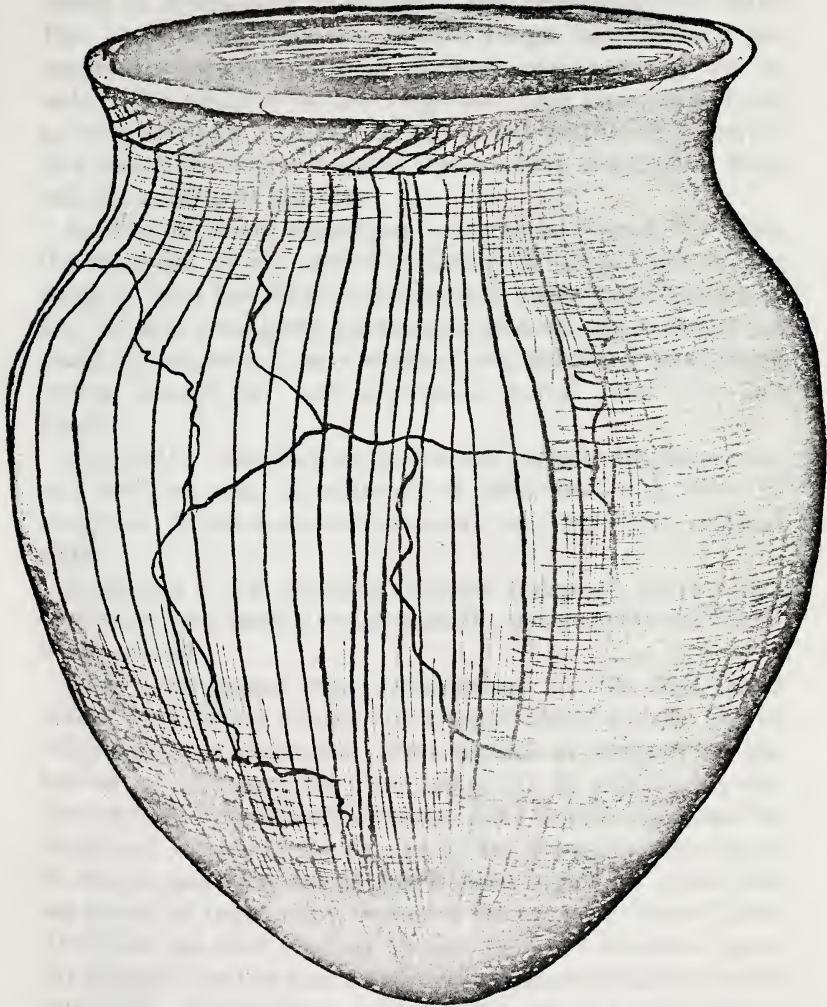


PLATE XIV.

shows considerable taste in form as well as design. The position of the four perforations is somewhat unique, as they are on one side of the vessel only. The destruction of the vessel of which only a fragment was secured (Plate XIII, Fig. 2) is to be deplored, as the design incised on it has apparently been not only an intricate, but a pleasing one as well. The position of the rings and lines seems to indicate an ogee swastika. In general style and texture of material, this vessel was very similar to the one first described. Both still show signs of glazing.

Another curiously shaped pot is figured on Plate XIV. With the exception of the rim it is devoid of ornamentation, but seems to have had hard and frequent usage and exposure to fire, for it is completely encrusted with soot. It is almost too small to have served as a cooking pot, besides it was hardly strong enough for such a purpose, being quite thin and fragile.

The shell of *Busycon perversum* has undoubtedly been used as a drinking cup. It is devoid of decoration, and, with the exception of the removed columella, was left in its original state.

Excepting a few roughly chipped pieces of chert and a number of very large *Anodonta* shells, nothing else was found in the mound.

After completing my investigations of the Red river mound I turned my attention to a large structure about twelve miles northeast of Campti. This mound is situated in the bottom of the so-called Clear Lake. It is only during the time of high water that the Black Lake Bayou overflows its banks and inundates the flat lands for some distance along its course, and thus forms Black lake, a part of which, being devoid of trees, takes therefore the name of Clear Lake. Alongside the road leading to the mound I noticed a peculiar straight but low and narrow structure, running due north and south. Examination proved that it was of human origin, and served very likely as a sort of breastwork. The structure is about fifty feet long, and no more than three to four feet high. The narrow base diameter averages about eight

feet. As time was very limited I could not investigate this structure thoroughly. Some fifty feet from its northern end stands the mound, which proved to be quite a long one. It is oblong in shape, its long diameter running northwest to southeast. Owing to its water-worn condition it was impossible to form an adequate idea of its original size, but its base measured probably more than 150 feet in length and nearly 60 feet in width. The northwestern slope was badly washed, exposing, however, some of the internal structure, which consisted principally of red sandy clay. The sides of the mound had supported considerable vegetation.

While quite a number of trees had died long ago—only their decaying roots still existing—others are still flourishing, especially a large white oak on the summit. The trunk of this tree measures about three feet three or four inches in diameter.

In the table prepared some years ago by Dr. Lapham on the growth of native forest trees of Wisconsin, the white oak is noted for one foot of growth in 107 years. The age of the tree in question is therefore 347 years, but Dr. Foster, in "Prehistoric Races," expresses himself: "There can be no means of determining how many successive forests may have preceded the present and occupied the soil since any given epoch, as that of the mound builders, all traces of the former trees having been long since effaced. A few years suffice to convert a fallen trunk into humus that can not be distinguished from the other portions of the accumulating soil."

Looking carefully over the surface of the mound and the partially existing depression around the base, I found a few pieces of pottery and chipped flint, though nothing at all in such quantity as many of the smaller mounds usually show. The structure is rather out of the way and the land around has scarcely been cultivated to such an extent as would explain the removal of relics, either entire or broken. About thirty feet from the base we picked up a broken stone pestle, and near the bridge crossing Black Lake Bayou the peculiar boat-shaped stone object figured on Plate —, Fig. 1. For what purposes this peculiar object was used is hard to

conceive. In size and shape it resembles one found in the Larto mounds, with the exception of not having any perforations. Considerable time and care must have been bestowed on its manufacture, and its purpose, therefore, may not have been a trivial one. The material is green stone.

Since so much of the original integument of the mound had been washed from the sides, I thought it best to begin the excavations on the top. Upon removal of the outer crust to an extent of about eight inches, I found the indications of a large fire kindled on the southeast corner. The ashes, intermingled with a very little charcoal, were about three inches thick; I followed them up all around, but discovered nothing in them. Continuing the excavation to an additional depth of five feet, I came upon another larger and thicker layer of ashes. Every part of this bed was carefully examined, but yielded nothing. In some places, however, ashes and small pieces of charcoal appeared to be caked together as if water had been thrown over them. All indications pointed to the fact that this was not due to seepage of any kind. After noting all points in connection with these traces of a prehistoric signal-fire, I extended the excavation more toward the northeast slope, carrying it about six feet further. The deeper the trench got the harder and more compact became the clay. The total absence of shells in the entire structure as far as I examined it was noticeable, and yet the locality must have abounded in species of unio, etc. Not finding any further traces of human life outside of those two fire beds, and the few small objects already mentioned, and considering the height and relative position of this mound, I believe we are justified in regarding it as a point of observation and signal. The distance by air line between this and the Henry mound is only nine miles. Twelve miles east of it is a group of forty or fifty of what Professor Forshey designates "inexplicable mounds." Communication, therefore, could have been easily maintained with all mounds in that section within a radius of ten or fifteen miles, for the country is nearly level all around.

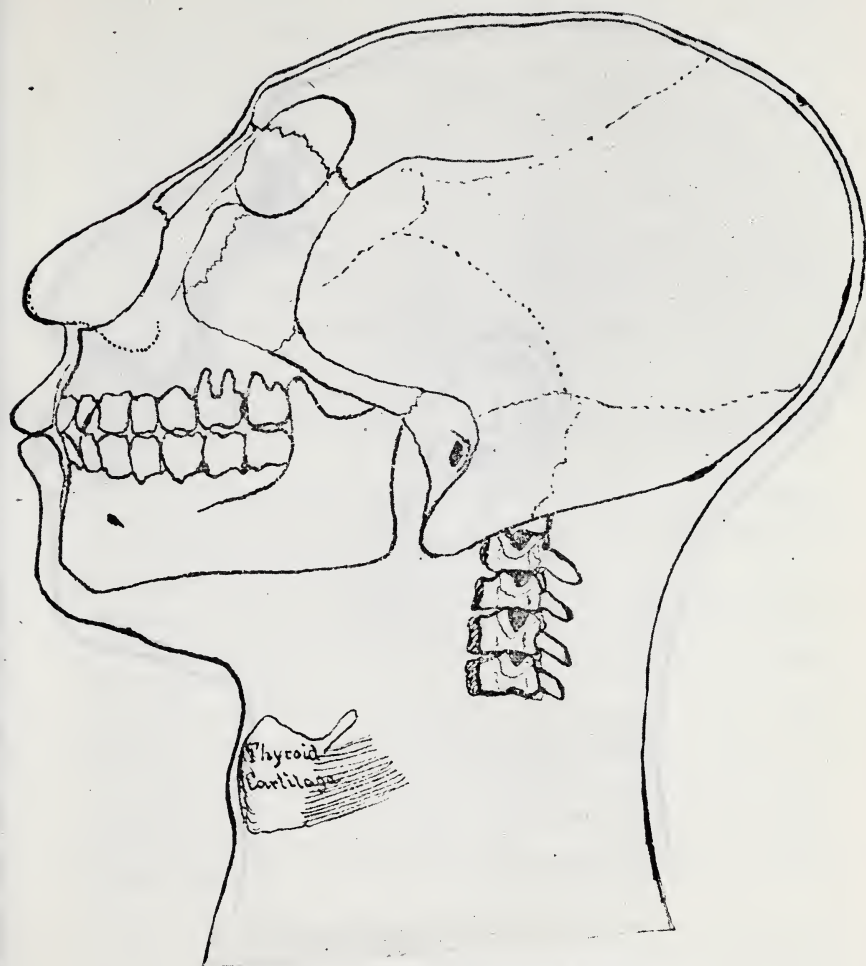
Upon arriving at the east end of Black Lake I was surprised

to see such a number of small conical tumuli, stretching one after the other in double rows as far as the eye could reach. I thus found myself in the midst of another such collection of village mounds as I described in Franklin parish.

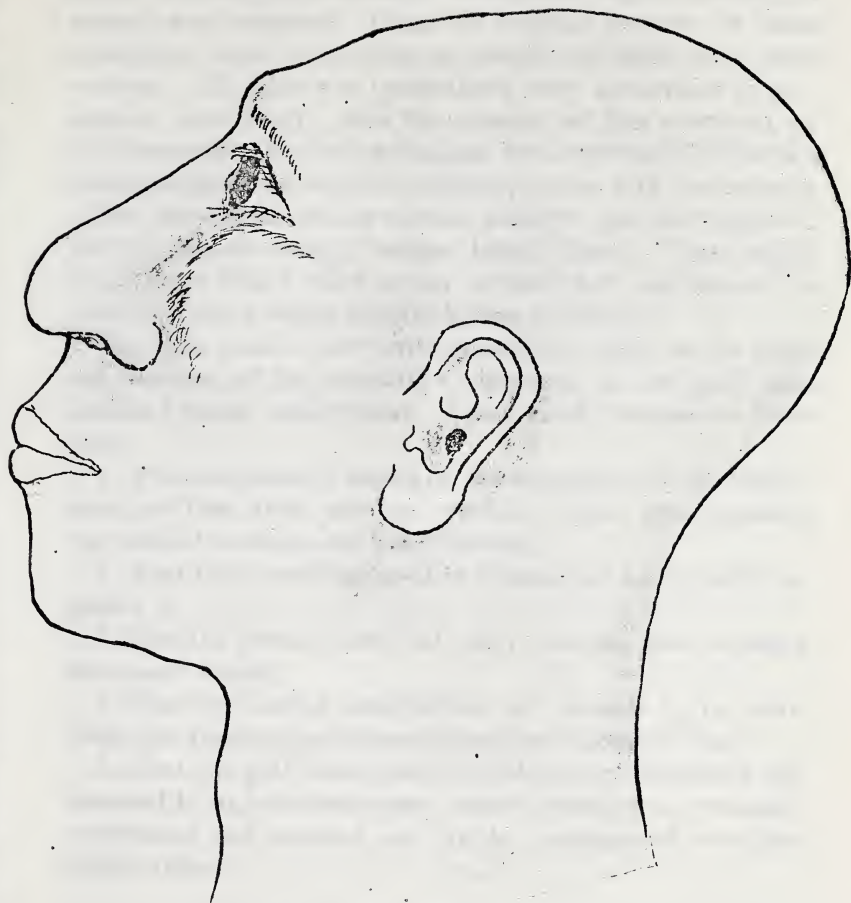
In shape and general appearance they were similar, but varied somewhat in size. Some few reached five feet, while the majority were only three feet and even less. Their base diameters did not exceed thirty feet. I passed from one to another hoping to find some traces of relics on or near the surface, but I failed in every instance. Thorough examination of quite a number was easily and quickly made, although the loamy earth was fairly compact and hard. There was no visible stratification, nor did the spade turn up any relics, notwithstanding that each mound was examined beyond the depth of its base.

On the map of Black Lake I have placed the mounds as accurately as I could without making an exact survey. The hospitable residents of that section of the parish informed me that they had never noticed any objects lying about. A great many even had never given a thought, as to whether these mounds were artificial or natural elevations, yet the main road to Campti leads right past an ancient village which had, perhaps, a larger population than that of the adjacent country at present. The exact number of these mounds was not obtained, as many of them may have escaped notice on account of the undergrowth in the woods. I was told, however, there were fifty or more.

The absence of all traces of bones or implements in or on these small structures leaves, in my opinion, but one conclusion. They were the sites upon which the aborigines built their shelters, which in this climate were constructed of very light material. Had they erected their huts upon the level ground every light shower of rain would have transformed the interior into a miniature pond, for the raising of their dwelling upon sills or pillars was either unknown to them or they had other reasons not to adopt such a plan. By simply throwing up a small mound they saved themselves at once considerable carpenter's work, and effectually gained their



LARTO SKULL.



LARTO SKULL WITH FEATURES RESTORED.

object of having a high and dry dwelling. In localities which were subject to greater inundation, higher mounds, of course, were required. From the original purpose of these structures other uses, such as burial, worship, etc., were evolved. The idea was transmitted from generation to generation, until finally, after the invasion of this continent by the Caucasians, the tribes changed from sedentary habits to a roving disposition, and the original purpose with the majority of the descendants of the mound builders was lost sight of, and the mounds simply became burial places. I may safely say, I have found, that on an average but one mound in twenty or more would contain human remains.

The same points I set forth already in regard to the original structure of the majority of mounds in our gulf coast section I found reconfirmed. I may briefly summarize them thus:

1. That the primary object of construction was for habitation, and that their use for worship, burial and signaling was not only subsequent but incidental.
2. That they were increased in dimensions as necessity required it.
3. That the primary *motif* of their erection was certainly not one of burial.
4. That the original construction of mounds by far antedates the discovery of this continent by Columbus, and
5. That our gulf coast mound builders were originally represented by at least two types, one of which was eventually superseded and crowded out by the ancestors of our later Indian tribes.

TWO ORIGINAL AND NEWLY FOUND DOCUMENTS
OF THE DEPARTURE, SHIPWRECK AND DEATH
OF MR. AUBRY, THE LAST FRENCH GOVERNOR
IN LOUISIANA.

Last April I obtained from Paris two documents of great interest for the history of Louisiana.

The first is the declaration of Cabarn de Trepis, written and signed by him as to the departure of Charles Philippe Aubry, the last French Governor of Louisiana, from a place two and a half leagues below New Orleans, with two boxes full of silver, each containing at least 10,000 livres, a bag containing also some silver and a purse containing some 1500 or 1600 livres in gold.

The departure of ex-Governor Aubry at that place, below the city, seems to indicate that he feared the public vengeance for his late infamous acts.

2. The sworn statement, on stamped paper of the city of Bordeaux, of Capt. Jacques Jacquelin, and of the survivors of the shipwreck of his vessel, *Le Père de Famille*, aboard of which had been Governor Aubry, 58 soldiers and other passengers, all of whom perished, with the exception of Captain Jacquelin and four men.

The above statement was sworn to and signed before the Lieutenant of the Admiralty, and gives not only all the details of the shipwreck but also that of the cargo.

In neither of the two manuscripts is there any statement made that Governor Aubry carried with him the public or official documents of the Colony of Louisiana; a fact to be found, without proof or authority, in almost every historical work alluding to Aubry, his departure from Louisiana and death by shipwreck.

The above two documents have been read by me, at the meeting of the 14th May, 1897, of the *Athénée Louisianais*, and are published in extenso in the 1st of July, 1897, number of the publications of the said society.

I have had a *fac simile* made of the certificate of Cabarn de

Trepis, which, being a short document, will be published as a sequel to the preceding remarks and a literal translation will accompany the document.

The second document being very long and with the legal verbiage of the time, I will give now a short synopsis of the contents of same and call your attention to several errors to be found in all histories of Louisiana, corrected by this document.

From the sworn statement of Captain Jacques Jacquelin, it appears that he left New Orleans on the 23d of November, 1769, having for passengers Mr. Aubry, Mr. Delaforest, a lieutenant of troops, several sergeants and soldiers, numbering fifty-eight men; he had also for the French government six double-barreled cast-iron cannons. He had as extra passengers Messrs. Amestrame (*Armstrong?*), lieutenant colonel of His British Majesty; Detours, a merchant; also four women and three children. He stopped at Corona on the 29th of January to deliver the dispatches and parcels of Mr. O'Reilly, the general in Louisiana, for the Court of Madrid, to be delivered to Mr. Grimaldi, the minister of said court. Captain Jacquelin states that he left Corona the 4th of February, 1770, and sailed for the entrance to the river of Bordeaux, and on the evening of the 17th he endeavored to enter the river even at the risk of perishing; that when almost opposite the tower of Cordouan the vessel struck the rocks and a large wave carried away the cabin on which Mr. Aubry and several others were, and they were all lost. Mr. Aubry's death occurred on the 17th February, 1770, just before night. The captain states how he finally reached Royan on a plank. Three of the four men who reached land appeared and gave their testimony confirming the statements of the captain and how they saved their lives; the fourth was sick at the hospital and did not testify.

As it may be interesting to know of what the cargo of a vessel from Louisiana to France consisted, I will give, in a few words, the statement of Captain Jacquelin as to the contents of his vessel. There were on board of his vessel eight packages of furs, twenty-one raw hides, fourteen barrels of

indigo, two other barrels of indigo, and four hundred planks ten or twelve feet long; also, for his own account, twenty barrels and eleven quarts of indigo, three thousand piastres (dollars?), also various amounts: one thousand piastres, ———, two thousand piastres, ———, fifteen hundred piastres, and again, four thousand piastres, making a total of eleven thousand five hundred piastres.

The statement of the captain as to the loss of his vessel, the death of Governor Aubry and details of cargo was made on the 2d of March, 1770. The statement as to the cargo was confirmed, under oath, by Jean Lacassaigne, on the 5th of February, 1770.

CERTIFICATE OF CAPTAIN CABARN DE TREPIS.

I, the undersigned, captain of infantry in Louisiana, certify that Mr. Aubry, commandant for his Most Christian Majesty in Louisiana, caused to be sent on board of the vessel, commanded by Captain Jaquelin, which left in November, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine, two boxes full of silver, and in each of the boxes there were at least ten thousand livres, besides a bag of seagrass, also full, the amount of silver in which I do not know, and I furthermore declare that the said Mr. Aubry had a pursefull of gold, containing about fifteen or sixteen hundred livres, and that I have seen the two boxes and the said bag in the room of the captain, who had given it to Mr. Aubry for his trip, all of which facts I certify the truth of, having seen them with my own eyes when he embarked two and a half leagues below the city. I having been with him in a canoe to take him there. I furthermore offer to reiterate at any time, and when I shall be required, the present statement at any time and when I shall be required. Done at Paris, this first of September, 1770.

CABARN DE TREPIS.

The record of Aubry, in Europe, was a most honorable one; his deeds in the Illinois region, previous to his governorship and residence in New Orleans, had given ample proof of his bravery and military capacity when he defended Fort Duquesne against an English army more numerous than the small force under him. In that battle he killed 300 men and captured 200 prisoners; he then destroyed his fort before the arrival of General Washington at the head of 10,000 Englishmen, and marched to Illinois with his small army and all the cannons and munitions of said fort.

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Troisième
Dernière
Insultante
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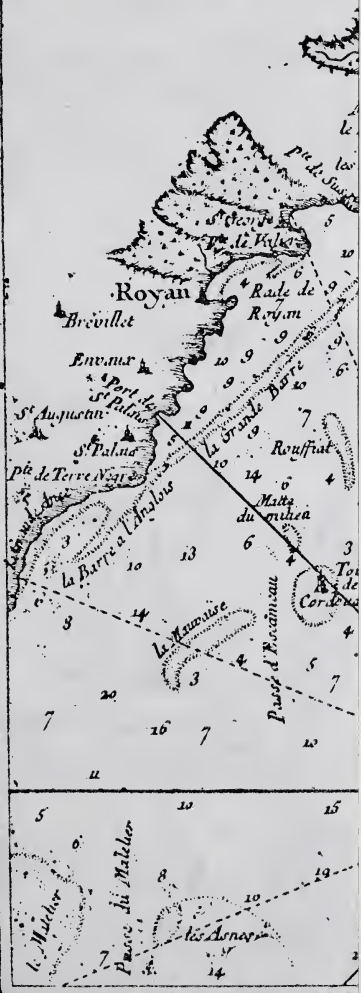
int. A. 15^{me} - l'été cinq ou six quator

je Souvigne capitaine d'insubordination à la
Louisiane certifie que M^r Aubry commande
pour sa majesté très chrétienne à la Louisiane
a fait embarquer sur le vaisseau commandé
par le cpt Jaquetien parti en novembre
dix mille sept cent soixante et neuf de la
ditte colonie, deux quere remplies d'argent
et dans chacune des quels il y avoit
au moins dix mille livre, en sus un
sac de papitres remplies donc j'ignore
ce qu'il contenoit d'argent et de d'écrits
En outre outre que M^r Aubry dit Simon
Aubry avoit un bourse pleine d'or
de quinze a seize cents livre et que
j'ay vu les dit deux quere le dit
sac dans la chambre du cpt le
quel l'avois s'adressé à M^r Aubry pour sa
traverse, les quels fait je certifie
véritable, comme en agent et de témoin
régulière, lorsque il s'est embarqué à
deux lieux et demi de la ville, ayant
été avec lui dans un canot le conduisant
offrant même de retourner tout soit et
quand j'en seray requis - la présente atteste
tout soit et quand j'en seray requis fait
à Paris ce premier septembre 1770

Signature

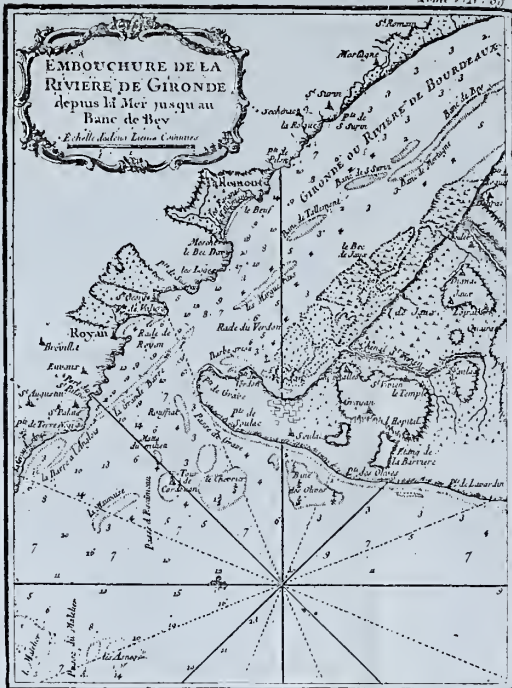
EMBOUCHURE DE
RIVIERE DE GIRO
depuis la Mer jusqu
Banc de Bey

Echelle des denr. Lieux Communes.



EMBOUCHURE DE LA
RIVIERE DE GIRONDE
depuis la Mer jusqu'au
Banc de Bey

Echelle des Lignes Centrales



In 1759, when General Prideaux of the British army laid siege to Fort Niagara, then defended by Captain Pouchot, he only obtained its surrender when Aubry, who was marching to the rescue and assistance of the fort, with a body of Frenchmen, had been most severely wounded and made a prisoner and his company nearly all killed or made prisoners.

As the last French governor of Louisiana after the death of Abadie, February 4, 1765, until his departure for France, November 23, 1769, after delivering the government of Louisiana into the hands of O'Reilly, his acts deserve no praise, for they were infamous. His memory, in Louisiana, is held in hatred and contempt, like that of Benedict Arnold, the infamous traitor of the revolution and war for the independence of the English colonies in America.

It 1776 Colonel Chevalier Jean de Champigny published a book having for its title, "*Etat présent de la Louisiane avec toutes les particularités de cette Province d'Amérique: Pour servir de suite à l'Histoire des Européens dans les Deux Indes.*"

On page 38 of that volume is given the following pen portrait of Aubry:

"Mr. Aubry was a little, dry, lean, ugly man, without nobility, dignity or carriage. His face would seem to announce a hypocrite, but in him this vice sprang from excessive goodness, which granted all, rather than displeasure; always trembling for the consequences of the most indifferent actions, a natural effect of a mind without resource or light; always allowing itself to be guided, and thus swerving from rectitude in conduct; religious through weakness rather than from principle; incapable of wishing evil, but doing it through a charitable human weakness; destitute of magnanimity or reflection; a good soldier, but a bad leader; ambitious of honors and dignity, but possessing neither firmness nor capacity to bear the weight."

Aubry, through his servile obedience to the orders of his master, Louis XV, became the lacquey of Ulloa and his detective, and later became the cowardly informer upon his

countrymen, on the arrival of the Spanish Governor O'Reilly. For this last act he is despised by all sons of Louisiana, as this action is by them considered disgraceful and infamous.

This charge against the memory of Aubry is not subject to any doubt, for it can be verified by his letter to the French minister, dated September 1, 1769, which can be read in B. F. French's *Historical Memoirs of Louisiana*, Vol. V, pages 205 to 209. Aubry is therefore responsible for the executions of Lafrénière, Noyan, Caresse, Milhet and Marquis, who were shot on the 25th of October, 1769.

Aubry is also responsible for the arrest and death of Villeré, who, about to leave for the British colonies, was deceived by the contemptible Aubry, who invited him to present himself to O'Reilly with a promise of oblivion of the past and a safe conduct. Such was the man who perished on the 17th of February, 1770, with his money, in all probability, the price of his treacherous information.

In the same work of Mr. de Champigny, on page 85, in a foot-note, is the following statement: "A present of 12,000 écus of Spain and a life pension were given to Aubry by Governor O'Reilly. An offer of a high position in the service of the Spanish king was added to the above, but Aubry, too happy to return to France, there to live quietly on the price of his infamy, had refused the last offer and he sailed for France with his money."

Were it not that so many others, not responsible for his crime, perished with him, we should be tempted to see in his death the wrath of the Almighty destroying this unworthy governor of Louisiana, with the accursed money he had taken from Louisiana.

In a few lines at the bottom of page 209 of B. French's *Historical Memoirs of Louisiana*, Vol. V, are found the following erroneous statements, copied or found in almost all historical works relating to Louisiana and Aubry:

1. Aubry is there said to have sailed for France in the beginning of the year 1770. He sailed on the 23d of November, 1769.
2. He is said to have sailed with all his property and the

public papers belonging to the province. He did carry his money, but did not take with him any such public papers.

3. His vessel is said to have entered the mouth of the Garonne on the 18th of February, 1770, and he is said to have perished on that day. The river his vessel was about to enter was the Gironde, and the date was the 17th of February, 1770.

4. All on board are said to have perished, except four sailors, who succeeded in reaching the shore. The captain, three sergeants and a surgeon were saved, five in all.

5. French, on same page, states that the official correspondence of Aubry is deposited in the archives of Paris, but his private journal, with the valuable archives of the colony, was lost with him in the shipwreck. The two documents in my possession make no mention of his private journal nor of the public archives of Louisiana; the only documents or papers mentioned are the dispatches of Governor O'Reilly to Mr. Grimaldi, the Spanish minister at Madrid, which were delivered at Corona, Spain, on the 29th of January, 1770.

GUSTAVUS DEVROX, M. D.

N. B.—A *fac simile* of the certificate of Cabarn de Trepis, exact size, and a reduced *fac simile* of a map of J. N. Bellin, 1764, are added to the above paper; the map shows the locality of the shipwreck.

THE CLIMATE OF NEW ORLEANS, LA.

[FROM THE WEATHER BUREAU RECORD OF PAST TWENTY-SEVEN YEARS—1871 TO 1897, INCLUSIVE.]

The month of January is usually the coldest of the year, with a normal mean temperature of 54 degrees. The month averages two degrees colder than December and four degrees colder than February. The spring months—March, April and May—have average temperatures of 63, 69 and 75, respectively. June has an average temperature of 80; July 82 and August 82, though July averages somewhat warmer than August. September's mean temperature averages 79,

October 70 and November 61, making a normal annual mean of 69 degrees for the year.

The equability of New Orleans' climate is shown most forcibly by the fact that the average annual mean temperatures have varied but four degrees in twenty-seven years—the year 1895 showing the lowest annual mean of 67, and 1882 and 1883 showing the highest of 71.

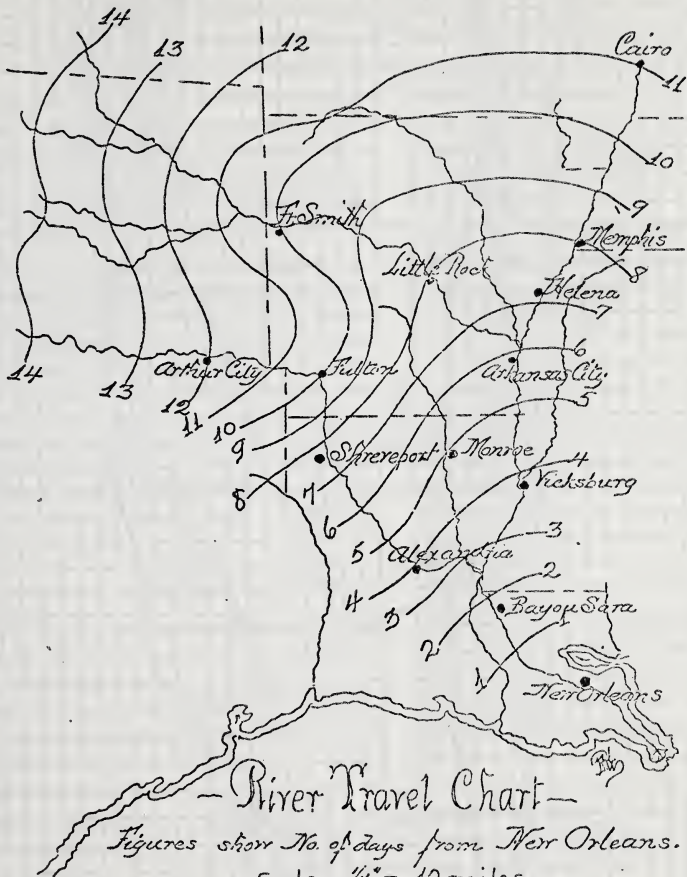
The daily extremes of temperature are a maximum temperature of 99 on August 3, 1897, and a minimum of 15 on January 9, 1886.

The average date of the first light frost is November 22; and of the first killing frost of winter December 16; the average date of the last killing frost of winter is January 24. The earliest frost on record is November 1, 1878, and latest on April 3, 1896—the latter being remarkably late for this section of the State. The latest killing frost occurred on March 27, 1894.

The mean relative humidity ranges from 72 to 76 per cent., May and October showing the least average of 72 per cent., and August the greatest of 76 per cent. April has an average of 73 per cent., and the remaining months of the year have averages ranging between 74 per cent. and 75 per cent., making the average annual humidity 74 deg. The driest year from a humidity standpoint was 1876, with an average of 67 per cent.; and the wettest, from a like standpoint, was 1890, with an average of 80 per cent.

The average annual rainfall for New Orleans is 60 inches. June and July show the greatest averages of 6.61 and 6.29 inches, respectively, followed by August with 5.84, March with 5.27, April with 5.18, January 4.94, May 4.64, September 4.56, February 4.48, December 4.36, November 4.11, and October, the least, with 3.20. In the year 1875 New Orleans received 85.73 inches of rainfall, and the year 1888 gave 83.13 inches; on the other hand the year 1891 gave a minimum annual fall of 38.62 inches.

There are an average of 130 days in the year on which appreciable rain falls, July having the greatest number of any month, 16, with 14 in June and August, 11 in January,

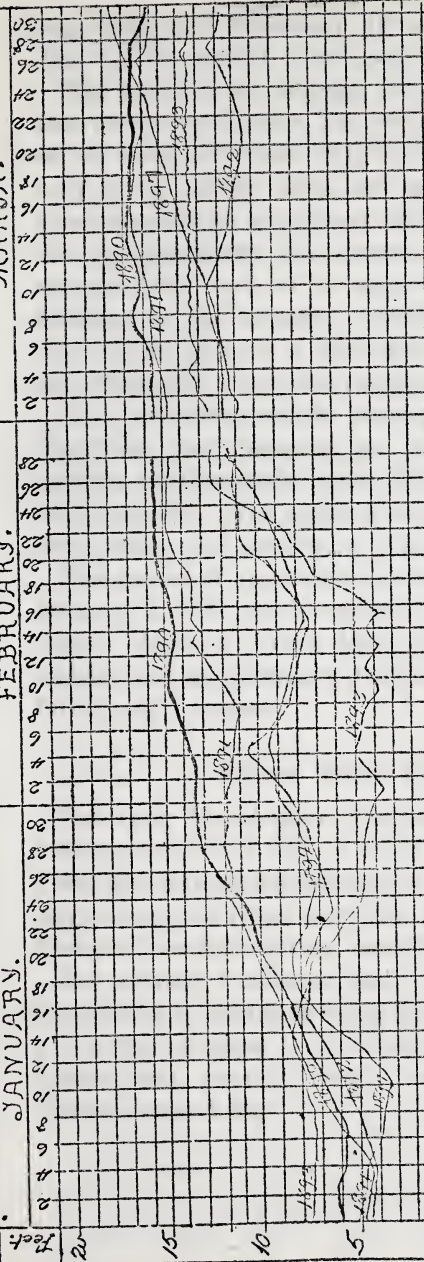


Hydrograph of River Stages at New Orleans, La. during High Waters since 1890.

MARCH.

FEBRUARY.

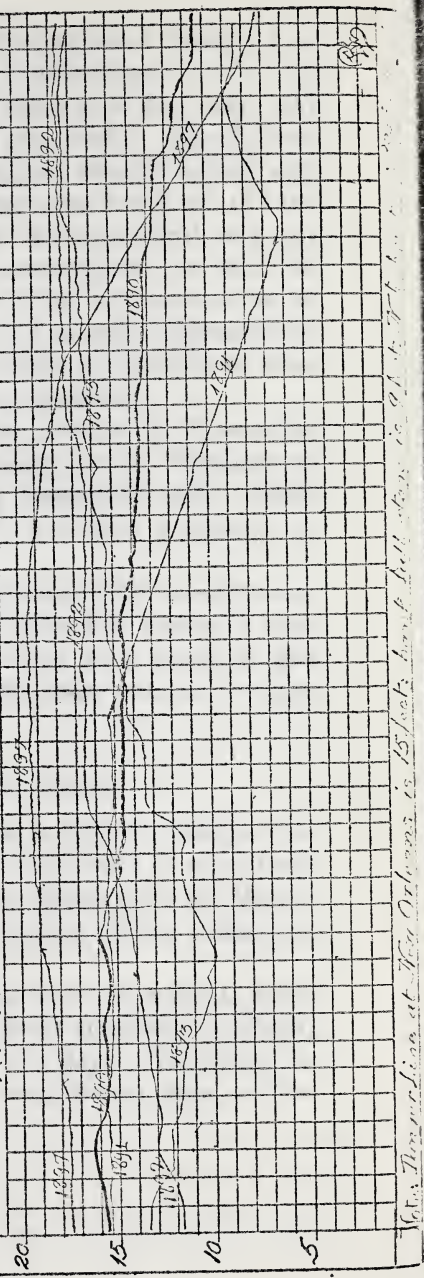
JANUARY.



JUNE.

MAY.

APRIL.



65. The Direction at New Orleans is 15 feet, but stage is 91 to 94 feet.

September and December, 10 in February and March, 9 in May and November, 8 in April and 7 in October.

The year has an average of 129 days that are clear; 147 that are partly cloudy, and 90 that are cloudy. The showers of the month of June, July and August, usually falling with only partly cloudy days, are at once the cause of (1) the great number of rainy days, (2) the heavy rainfall, and (3) the comparatively low summer temperature, in that an extreme heat, such as is registered in the interior and north portions of the country, would be well nigh impossible in this section without a downpour of rain that would at once and effectually lower the temperature decidedly.

The prevailing winds during the months of November, December and January are northerly; from February to August southeasterly, and during September and October northeasterly. The summer months also show a tendency to many south and southwest winds.

The record of appreciable snowfall since 1871 is as follows: January 5, 1879, about one inch of snow fell during a sleet storm; January 23-24, 1881, snow fell to a depth of five inches, and on February 14-15, 1895, there was an average fall of eight inches.

UNDER RIVER TRAVEL CHART.

The river travel chart portrays in a graphic manner the average number of days it takes a freshet wave to move from Cairo and intermediate points to New Orleans, on the Mississippi river, and from near the headwaters of the Arkansas, Red and Ouachita to their mouths.

The average time consumed for a wave of water to move from Cairo to Memphis is $2\frac{1}{2}$ days; from Memphis to Helena, $1\frac{1}{2}$ days; Helena to Vicksburg, $3\frac{1}{4}$ days; Vicksburg to Bayou Sara, nearly 3 days, and from Bayou Sara to New Orleans, over 1 day.

STATEMENT OF THE SUGAR CROP MADE IN LOUISIANA IN 1896-97.

[FROM THE LOUISIANA SUGAR REPORT. A. BOUCHEREAU.]

The sugar crop of 1896-97 aggregated 631,699,561 pounds, or 282,008,386 long tons of sugar.

The total production of molasses for 1896-97 was 20,820,130 gallons.

The average yield of cane per acre was twenty short tons. Total acreage of cane ground was about 203,258 acres, or 4,065,160 short tons.

There were 395 sugar houses in operation, a decrease of 29 since the 1895-96 report. This decrease is due to small planters finding it more advantageous to sell their cane by the ton to large factories.

The crop was a large one, an increase in the acreage of cane having been planted, but the season on the whole was an unprofitable one to the planters, the rolling expenses being much in excess of the previous years. This was due to the weather and the scarcity of labor. A freeze on the 9th of November killed the bud and forced the planters to windrow the principal part of their crops. A subsequent freeze caused steady depreciation; the loss in yield was estimated from 10 to 25 per cent. Bad roads, produced also by climatic conditions, obstructed rapid hauling of the cane, and the mills curtailed in their supply were prevented from steady work, which lengthened the period and consequently increased the cost of manufacture. The scarcity of labor was due to the low wages caused by the depression of the sugar industry under the Wilson tariff bill. This was remedied by an increase of wages by agreement of the planters throughout the sugar belt, viz.: \$1 per day for first-class field hands, the rate decreasing according to capacity and efficiency.

Notwithstanding the drawbacks, however, it is found that some sugar manufacturers, by close economy and with exceptionally fine crops and the best process of manufacture, made a good profit where the best process of manufacture

was employed, the general deficiency in tonnage was compensated by a remarkable percentage of saccharine matters, and on many places unprecedented yields per ton were obtained. In other localities where the tonnage yield exceeded expectations, the sucrose yield per ton was below the average.

COTTON CROP OF THE UNITED STATES AND LOUISIANA—1896-97.

[TAKEN FROM THE SECRETARY'S REPORT OF THE NEW ORLEANS
COTTON EXCHANGE, SEPTEMBER 1, 1897.]

The cotton crop of the United States for the year ending August 31, 1897, amounts to 8,757,964 bales, showing an increase over the crop of 1895-96 of 1,600,618, a decrease under that of 1894-95 of 1,143,287, and an increase over that of 1893-94 of 1,208,147 bales. Five-sixths of the excess was in the groups known as the "other Gulf" and "Atlantic States," Texas (including the Indian Territory) showing an increase in round figures of 258,000, the Gulf States (Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi and Tennessee) of 69,000, and the Atlantic States (Alabama, Georgia, Florida, North Carolina and South Carolina) of 674,000.

In the absence of much of the usual speculative influences, the range of values has been lower, but this has been partly offset by the fact that perhaps no cotton crop yet grown has been raised at such small cost, and it is safe to assume that it has netted the producer more than any previous one. Its actual value has been about \$25,000,000 more than was realized from the 9,901,000-bale crop of 1894-95, but this represents much less than the net gain to the grower, considering the difference in the cost of raising the two crops.

No unusual or startling features have been developed in the course of the market, and although the year's production was larger than generally expected after the disastrous results of the extreme hot weather and drought of July and August,

and the trade and financial outlook of this country were generally unsatisfactory, these were offset by the strong statistical position which kept prices unusually steady. Based on a fair average for the United States the highest point touched was $8\frac{1}{2}$ c. per pound, and the lowest $6\frac{1}{16}$ c., the average for the season being 7.32. Both the extremes noted were exceptional, the general range having been between 7c. and $7\frac{3}{4}$ c. per pound. The average commercial value of the crop has been \$36.76 per bale, against \$41.09 last year, \$30 year before last, and \$37.50 in 1893-94, and the total value of the crop compares with the past five years as follows:

The commercial crop of Louisiana is estimated in thousands of bales—at 575, against 430 for 1895-96.

The net receipts at New Orleans are: 1896-97, 2,128,315 bales, against 1,809,864 in 1895-96.

Of the past eight years' consumption barely 30 per cent. has been South and over 70 per cent. North, while of the total cotton production of the United States, but little more than 32 per cent. has been consumed in this country.

The changes in percentages North and South during that period, however, are strikingly suggestive. In eighteen hundred and ninety 76.7 per cent. of our domestic consumption of American cotton was North, and 23.3 per cent. South; in eighteen hundred and ninety-seven 63.4 was North, and 36.6 was South—in other words, in the former year Northern consumption was as eighteen to five, whereas to-day it is as eighteen to ten—the North standing to-day as it did in 1890, and the South having doubled. This of course relates to American cotton only.

For the first time in its history the cotton consumption of the South has passed the million-bale mark, the returns by Southern cotton mills for the year just closed showing as the total number of bales consumed 1,042,671, an increase of 137,970. This is the largest yearly gain made, except that of 1894-95.

As an indication that the trend of the cotton manufacturing industry in America continues surely and steadily southward,

the results are most gratifying, especially as this increase occurred in face of an unfavorable season.

Of the 482 cotton mills in the South, Louisiana possesses five, of which only two were in operation during 1897. These consumed 13,755 bales, against 16,378 during 1896.

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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JOHN R. FICKLEN	Second Vice President.
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Walmsley, Mrs. R. M.
Wharton, T. P.

Waldo, B. F. C.
Williams, Espy
Walmsley, Dr. R. W.

NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Texas State Historical Association, Vol. I, Part I.

State Historical and Natural History Society, of Denver,
Colorado.

The Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, Columbus,
Ohio.

Dr. T. G. Richardson Memorial, by Ed. Souchon, M. D.

Missouri Historical Society, Nos. 13 and 14, 1897.

Publications of the Rhode Island Historical Society, Vol. I,
Part II.

American Congregational Association, 44th Annual Report.

Proceedings of New Jersey Historical Society.

Annals of Iowa, Des Moines.

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

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NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA.

Vol. II. Part 2.

1898.

NEW ORLEANS:
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1899.

PUBLICATIONS

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MEETINGS

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LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

1897-98.

MEETING OF JANUARY 19, 1898.

Miss Coles, of Philadelphia, through Judge W. W. Howe, presented to the Society an engraved likeness of her father, Gov. Edward Coles, second Governor of Illinois, and the sketch of Edward Coles and of the slavery struggle of 1823-24.

Judge Howe read an essay in which he gave a summary of the issues raised during this contest in Illinois over the question of amending the Constitution of the State so as to make it concur with that of its mother State, Virginia, on the subject of slavery. Judge Coles was the determining force that decided the contest by ranging Illinois in the ranks of the anti-slavery States.

President Fortier, in the name of Mr. E. P. St. Martin, presented to the Society a letter dated 1809, written by Charles Dehault de Lassus, acting Governor of Baton Rouge, granting permission for a transfer of slaves through the territory.

MEETING OF FEBRUARY 16, 1898.

Prof. Henry E. Chambers read a paper on "The Relation of West Florida to the Cartography of the United States," written for publication in the Political Science Series of the Johns Hopkins University. The paper was a brief review of the political history of Florida, elucidating the obscurities in

its various treaties of cessions that have resulted in accumulating confusion upon the subject.

Dr. Devron made a short talk upon the theory of the American Indians originating in the Lost Tribes of Israel, exhibiting a copy of the original propositions of the theory, the sermon of Manesseh Ben Israel, printed by himself in 1650. Dr. Devron also exhibited a copy of the first refutations of Ben Israel's argument by Johannes Baxtonfin, 1661.

The annual election resulted in the Society retaining all its present officers, with the exception of Professor Rapp, assistant secretary (resigned), who was replaced by Mr. Charles G. Gill.

Mr. John Dymond, at the request of the president, addressed the Society. He made an eloquent eulogium upon the Society and the value of its services to the State.

MEETING OF MARCH 3, 1898.

Public meeting of the Society attended by members of the Constitutional Convention, then being held in the city. Mr. H. L. Favrot read a short account of the various official seals used during the past in Louisiana, illustrating the various forms and devices by magic lantern slides.

Judge W. W. Howe read a paper, prepared by request, on the previous Constitutional Conventions of Louisiana, giving a synopsis of the most important legislation of each convention.

Mr. G. V. Soniat followed with a paper, dealing with the political conditions existing at the time of the successive conventions.

MEETING OF APRIL 27, 1898.

A communication was read from Mr. Peter J. Hamilton, of Mobile, to the effect that he was employing an abstracter to examine the archives of the British Colonial office and copy therefrom the documents relating to British Florida, and he asked the Louisiana Historical Society to co-operate with him by having copied at its own expense the documents relating to

the Florida parishes, now incorporated in Louisiana. The proposition was turned over to the executive committee.

Professor John R. Ficklen read a paper on "The Oregon Boundary with reference to the Purchase of Louisiana." (The paper is published in the present number.)

MEETING OF MAY 25, 1898.

Mrs. Cuthbert Slocumb, through Miss Grace King, presented to the Society the original signed protest of the taxpayers against the proposed illegal increase of the State debt in 1871.

Dr. Devron gave a lecture on "The Early Explorers of the Mississippi."

A letter was read from Professor Mason, of the Smithsonian Institute, commending the Indian Mound investigation by Professor Beyer.

MEETING OF JUNE 19, 1898.

Miss Grace King read extracts from her forthcoming book: "De Soto and His Men in the Land of Florida." Discussion over the route of De Soto through Louisiana. The Society voted to continue financial aid toward the investigations of Indian mounds by Professor Beyer.

MEETING OF OCTOBER 26, 1898.

Mr. James S. Zacharie introduced the following resolution, which was adopted:

WHEREAS, the centennial of the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States will take place in 1903, recalling the most important event in the history of the great valley of the Mississippi, the Louisiana Historical Society in carrying out the object of its organization considers that the centennial of such an event should be celebrated in a worthy manner, especially in the city of New Orleans, where in 1803, took place the actual transfer of that vast empire extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Rocky Mountains.

Be it Resolved, That a committee of five, with the President *ex-officio*, be appointed to consider the subject and to make a report at some future meeting of the Society, as to the manner in which the event should be celebrated.

Dr. Devron gave a talk on the history of the Montezuma who died in New Orleans in 1836, referring to and exhibiting the following official documents: Copy of baptismal act, obtained from Lorea, Spain, Montezuma's birth-place, which established the fact that Montezuma was fifty-one years of age when he committed suicide, the registry of his death from Board of Health records of New Orleans, giving titles and date of death, but not stating cause of death; will, or codicil of will, copied from the court records, with inventory of his debts; manuscript copy of revenues and expenses of Mexico during early period of Mexican government, showing amount of pensions given to Montezuma family; official manuscript copy of titles of nobility and coat of arms of Montezuma's brother, and the confirmation of the same in the published volume of "Titles of Nobility Conferred upon the Conquerors of Mexico." Dr. Devron stated that the details of the death were obtained from an intimate friend of Montezuma's, an old organist of the Jesuits' Church, who used frequently to go to the old Orleans Theatre with him. The sexton of the cemetery and the burial registry had settled the exact location of the tomb. The details of the actions of Montezuma in Mexico which led to his leaving that country and coming to New Orleans were taken from Alleman's History of Mexico. (Dr. Devron has published an article on the subject, with list of authorities, in the series of the *Athénée Louisianais*.)

Dr. Devron also exhibited the following, connected with the history of the great Montezuma: MS. volume, copied in Spain from the original of Sahagun, giving the Aztec version of Montezuma's death; that he was assassinated by Cortez; the "twelfth book" of Sahagun, lost or suppressed until discovered by Muñoz and printed by Bustamente in 1829. Dr. Devron's manuscript contains the sworn statement of

Bustamente that it is a perfect copy of the original of Sahagun. It therefore agreed, as Dr. Devron showed, with the Kingsborough text.

President Fortier was asked by the Society to open correspondence with some proper authority in Havana in reference to securing from the Spanish government such documents in the archives of Cuba as related to the history of Louisiana.

MEETING OF NOVEMBER 16, 1898.

Mr. James S. Zacharie introduced the following resolution, which was adopted:

WHEREAS, The Louisiana Historical Society has decided to celebrate, in 1903, the Centennial of the Acquisition of Louisiana by the United States, and as the Society would thereby be carrying out one of the principal objects of its existence, the collecting and preserving of historical documents,

Be it Resolved, That in 1903 the Louisiana Historical Society publish a memorial book, and that a committee of five members, with the President *ex-officio*, be appointed to take charge of editing and publishing said volume, and

Be it further Resolved, That the Press of the United States and the various Historical Societies of the Mississippi Valley be requested to give publicity to the preparation of this work, and that all persons be invited to contribute historical documents, pictures, portraits and other data relating to the transfer of Louisiana.

The President appointed as Book Committee, Miss Grace King, Prof. John R. Ficklen, Judge W. W. Howe, Mr. James S. Zacharie.

Professor Beyer read a report of his investigation of Indian Mounds during past summer. (Report printed in this number.)

MEETING OF DECEMBER 21, 1898.

President Fortier read the following correspondence resulting from instructions given him at a previous meeting:

NEW ORLEANS, November 19, 1898.

Dr. Joaquin F. Lastres, President of the Royal University of Havana:

MY DEAR SIR—It is said that in the evacuation of the island of Cuba the Spanish government has ordered to be sent to Spain many important historical documents. I take the liberty of suggesting that the University of Havana should do everything in its power to keep in Cuba the documents pertaining to the history of Louisiana, and to that of the island of Cuba. The members of the Louisiana Historical Society hope that you will help us in a matter which is of great importance to the scientific societies of America.

Yours very truly,

ALCÉE FORTIER, *President.*

HAVANA, November 26, 1898.

Mr. Alcée Fortier, President of the Louisiana Historical Society of New Orleans:

MY DEAR SIR—In answer to your favor of the 15th inst., I must state that immediately on my receiving your valued letter I went to see the governor and endeavored by all means possible to communicate to the distinguished members of the American commission the very just wishes of the society over which you preside so worthily, and the object desired has been accomplished, as you may see by the enclosed clipping from a paper of to-day's date, and I congratulate you and the society, and I congratulate myself also, as a Cuban, in being able to keep those documents which have only an interest exclusively local and which would be of no use in Spain.

Although on the 1st of next month I shall relinquish the office of rector of the University of Havana, which I have filled for eight years, I shall not on that account cease to be unconditionally at your service, and at that of the society which knows so well how to interpret the patriotic feelings which distinguish it.

I am yours very truly,

JOAQUIN F. LASTRES.

President Fortier also read a letter from the Mayor, promising to lay before the City Council the matter of properly indexing and preserving the important historical documents at present in the City Hall, to which his attention had been called by the president of the Historical Society.

Professor Beyer read a paper advising the Society of the fact that persons from other States were exploring the Indian mounds of Louisiana and carrying off whatever of value they found in them. He suggested that the Society take steps to prevent these relics being removed from the State. The Society adopted Professor Beyer's paper as a resolution, deciding to give it to the press for publication, with the request that the newspapers comment editorially upon the necessity of keeping all such Indian relics in the State.

Professor Fortier read a paper upon the cession of Louisiana, recalling the principal historical details connected with the event.

Mr. G. Cusachs read a translation of an original letter from Governor Miro, dated September 7, 1785, accompanied by an introductory sketch of that period.

MEETING OF JANUARY 25, 1899.

President Fortier appointed as the Committee on Celebration of the Centennial of the Acquisition of Louisiana by the United States: Messrs. James S. Zacharie, Charles F. Claiborne, Charles T. Soniat, Omer Villeré, James D. Hill; the President of the Society, the Governor of the State and Mayor of New Orleans *ex-officio* members. Professor Beyer read a paper on "Ancient Basket Work on Avery Island." (Incorporated with the rest of Professor Beyer's investigations in this number.) Judge Seymour exhibited a letter from Governor Miro, dated March 13, 1788, and one from the Baron de Carondelet, dated June 30, 1796. Mr. Page M. Baker (by letter) in the name of Mr. Fred. A. Earhart presented to the Society a lease written and signed by John C. McDonogh.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR MIRO TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA AND REMARKS THEREON.

By G. CUSACHS.

NEW ORLEANS, December 21, 1898.

To the President and Members of the Louisiana Historical Society:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—I herewith submit for your inspection an original letter of Gov. Estevan Miro to the Commissioners of the State of Georgia, dated September 7, 1785, relative to the claims of that State to certain territory then in possession of Spain by right of conquest. In order to fully appreciate the purport of this letter it is necessary to refer to the circumstances under which it was written. I will, therefore, refresh your memory by quoting extensively from Martin and Monette.

War having been declared by Spain against Great Britain in 1779, Governor Galvez immediately took the field, and by September of the same year he had conquered Fort Bute, Baton Rouge, Fort Panmure at Natchez, the posts of Amite and Thompson's Creek. Carlos de Grandpre was put in command at Baton Rouge.

The Congress of the United States, availing themselves of the rupture between Spain and Great Britain, sent a minister to Madrid to negotiate a treaty. He was particularly instructed to insist on the right of the United States to the navigation of the Mississippi as far as the sea. The claim was opposed by Spain and discountenanced by France. The minister of France, at Philadelphia, had urged that his Sovereign was anxious to see the independence of the United States acknowledged by Spain and a treaty of alliance and commerce entered into by these powers, and he had recommended to the consideration of Congress several matters which the Catholic King viewed as highly important. These were the right of Spain to the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi and to the possession of both Floridas and all the territory from the left bank of the stream to the back settlements of the former

British provinces, according to the proclamation of 1763. It was contended that no part of the territory thus claimed was included within the limits of the United States, and the whole of it, with the Floridas, was in possession of the British crown, and consequently a legitimate object against which the Catholic King might direct his arms with a view to its permanent acquisition. It was suggested that it was expected by the cabinet of Madrid that Congress would prohibit the inhabitants of the Southern States from making any attempt toward settling or conquering this portion of territory. The minister concluded that the United States possessing no territory beyond the mountains, except the posts of Kaskaskia and a few others, from which they had momentarily driven the British, would view the navigation of the Mississippi as an unimportant object, in comparison with the recognition of their independence by, and an alliance with Spain. The late declaration of war by Spain, and the hostilities commenced by Galvez, an account of which was received at Philadelphia whilst Congress was deliberating on the communication of the French minister, had, it is believed, considerable influence in the subsequent determination of that body to insist on the claim. The American minister at Madrid failed in his negotiation, and the independence of the United States was not acknowledged by Spain.

The preliminary articles of peace between Great Britain, France and Spain were signed at Paris on the twentieth day of January, 1763, and the definite treaties signed on the third of September of the same year. By the first the King of Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States, and recognized as their southern boundary a line to be drawn due east from a point in the river Mississippi, in the latitude of 31 degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the River Apalachicola, or Cataouche; thence along the middle thereof to its junction with Flint river; thence straight to the middle of St. Mary river; and thence down along the middle of St. Mary river to the Atlantic ocean. The description of this line is important, as it became the dividing one

between the possessions of Spain and the United States. By the eighth article it was expressly provided that the navigation of the Mississippi, from its source to the Gulf, should forever remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the United States. The claims of Spain and the United States under this treaty were not easy to be reconciled, and they soon opened a source of contention which lasted for a series of years. The Catholic King, under an actual possession, and the guarantee of Great Britain, laid claim to all the territory as far as the mouth of the Yazoo. After the peace of 1762, on possession being taken by Great Britain, the northern boundary of West Florida was fixed at the 31st degree of north latitude, but was afterward extended to a line drawn due east from the mouth of the Yazoo river, in latitude 32.28, with the view of comprehending within the limits of the province some important settlements, Spain contending that the limits being then fixed in the commission of the British Governor had continued the same until the signature of the treaty.

By the treaty signed September 3, 1783, Great Britain relinquished to the United States all the territory on the east side of the Mississippi, from its sources to the thirty-first parallel of north latitude, which was to be the boundary of Florida on the north. With this relinquishment, of course, were ceded all the previous rights of Great Britain to the free navigation of the river to its mouth, as derived from previous treaties with France and Spain. The United States, therefore, claimed the free navigation of the river to its mouth.

At the same time Great Britain had ceded to Spain all the Floridas, comprising all the territory east of the Mississippi and south of the southern limit of the United States. Hence Spain possessed all the territory on the west side of the river, and Florida on the east; and the river, for 300 miles, flowed wholly within the dominions of Spain. His Catholic Majesty therefore claimed the exclusive right to the use of the river below the southern limit of the United States. Independent of this principle, Spain refused to recognize the southern boundary of the United States as extending fur-

ther south than the old British boundary of Florida, which was an imaginary line extending from the mouth of the Yazoo due east to the Chattahoochee, or in latitude 32.28 north. As the treaty of 1783, in the cession of Florida to Spain, designated no boundaries, but presumed those of the United States, Spain demanded Florida with its British boundaries, alleging that England by the treaty confirmed to her the dominion of Florida, which was then in her possession as a conquered province. Yet Spain had been a party to the triple treaty and had acquiesced in the article which had stipulated for the thirty-first parallel as the southern limit of the United States, and she now demanded the specified boundary. Nor could it be doubted that both Great Britain and the United States in the treaty contemplated the thirty-first parallel as the northern limit of Florida.

Three years after the ratification of the treaty of 1783, Spain occupied both banks of the Mississippi below the Ohio, and no less than four Spanish posts confirmed the military occupation of the eastern bank, and the governor and intendant of Louisiana were required to enforce the laws of Spain in the collection of heavy duties on all imports by way of the river from the Ohio region.

As early as 1785, the Federal government, through John Jay, its commissioner, opened a negotiation with the Spanish minister, Don Guardoqui, relative to these embarrassments to the prosperity of the Western people; but the Spanish minister, in behalf of his government, persisted in his refusal to concede any of the points in controversy, and after a fruitless negotiation of twelve months Mr. Jay had almost consented to waive for twenty years the right of the Western people to the free navigation of the Mississippi, provided Spain would concede their claim at the expiration of that period.

In the meanwhile the State of Georgia was claiming the whole southern portion of the United States, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi river, bounded on the south by the 31st parallel of latitude. Hence, all the territory near the Mississippi on the east side, from Loftus' Heights northward for several hundred miles, was properly the territory of Georgia.

But this whole region was in the possession of Spain, with a population of nearly 10,000 souls. This had not been overlooked by the State government, and commissioners, on the part of Georgia, had arrived at New Orleans during the autumn of 1785, with a demand for the surrender of the territory and the establishment of the line stipulated in the treaty of 1783. The subject, however, had been referred to the Federal government for settlement and amicable negotiation.

The commissioners notified the Spanish governor "that on the 7th of February, 1785, the Legislature of Georgia had passed an act, which provided for the erection of a county, by the name of Bourbon county, near the Mississippi, comprising all the lands below the mouth of the Yazoo, to which the Indian title had been extinguished; and that said act provided that whenever a land office should be established in said county, the persons occupying any of said lands, being citizens of the United States, or of any friendly power, should have a preference claim allowed and reserved to them; provided they actually lived on and cultivated said lands. The Georgia act was entitled "An act for laying out a district of land situate on the river Mississippi, and within the bounds of this State, into a county, to be called *Bourbon*." The subject, however, having been referred to the Federal government for negotiation, the act of February 7, 1785 was repealed on the first day of February, 1788.

According to Gayarré, Martin, Monette and others, it would appear that the Georgia Commissioners, Nicholas Loug, Nathaniel Christmas and William Davenport, arrived in New Orleans during the autumn of 1785. By Governor Miro's letter the time is fixed as being after the 2d of September, date of their last letter to Don Francisco Bouliguy. We must therefore conclude that their demand was first made to Bouliguy, and that it was unknown to Miro. Miro's answer, which follows, was handed to the Georgia Commissioners in New Orleans. The period of ten years, from 1785 to 1795, was one of the most eventful and important in the history of the United States; and the difficulties then existing were finally settled by the treaty of October 20, 1809.

To Messrs. Nicholas Long, Nathaniel Christmas and William Davenport:

DEAR SIRS—I have received the four letters you wrote to Lieutenant Colonel Don Francisco Boulogny, commandant of the Fort and District of Natchez, dated from August 29 to September 2: your act is contrary to the declaration of your documents that authorize you to claim the specified Fort and District of Natchez, by title of the State of Georgia, as included in the 31 deg. north latitude, which Great Britain assigned as the limit on this river to the United States of North America, in the last treaty of peace.

It is not my duty to insist on the indisputable right of Spain to own as far as the mouth of the Ohio river, on the east bank of the Mississippi river, since Don Diego Guardoqui is sent by his Majesty to Philadelphia as special commissioner to adjust the terms of limit with the aforesaid United States; thus I shall only mention that I have received no order to deliver the said fort and district of Natchez, and consistently with my oath, I am impelled to refuse them to whoever claims them, and to defend them against whatever enemies might offer to attack them, so long as I have no order from my sovereign to yield them up, consequently I can not permit you, sirs, to exercise your commission of justices of the peace in the said district nor in any other within the dominions of his Majesty, up to the already mentioned mouth of the Ohio river, which are under my command, and I hope that you will abstain from exercising therein any act of authority that I could consider hostile on your part, as from the present time I declare that you shall control nothing whatever in the territories of his Majesty, and by the laws of the Indies I can permit in them no foreign interference.

By courtesy to the State of Georgia, which commissioned you, sirs, I allowed you to remain in this district until you received an answer from your honorable State, upon precise condition not to confer with the neighboring subjects of his Majesty upon the pending contention of limit, as conferences upon the matter might produce bad results. It is a surprising fact that the honorable State of Georgia should send you,

sirs, to claim the fort and district of Natchez without having come previously to an understanding with the King, my master, since you can not be ignorant that no captain nor viceroy has any right to deliver the dominions placed under his command without an express order from his sovereign. This manner of proceeding I consider and still consider as aiming at some pretence for a rupture; for which reason I now place myself upon the defensive, going to much expense, both for the consignment of troops for strengthening the Fort of Natchez and for preparations for a campaign, increasing my force with bodies of troops which I expect from the adjoining possessions of his Majesty.

I do protest from this moment that all this expense is occasioned by the Legislature of the State of Georgia on account of the steps she has taken against the rights of people in your claim: I shall constitute as a county the dominions of the King, my master, that he may reclaim them according to his supreme will.

I desire opportunities to oblige you, sirs; may God grant you many years to live. Your obedient servant who kisses your hands.

ESTEVAN MIRO.

New Orleans, September 7, 1785.

INVESTIGATION OF SOME SHELL-MOUNDS IN CALCASIEU PARISH.

By PROF. GEO. E. BEYER, Tulane University.

Considerable theorizing has been indulged in as to the nature and origin of the so-called shell-mounds, or shell-heaps, which are found, in greater or lesser numbers, all along the coast lines of Florida, Alabama, Louisiana and Texas. The question whether they were natural accumulations of the valves of the dead molluscs, or whether they were piled up by human agency, has often been mooted, but seems never to have been definitely settled. Of course, to many observers the very fact of their being found to consist almost

exclusively of one kind of material, in heaps of such enormous dimensions, in certain places only, the solution of the problem appeared inevitably to indicate human origin.

While on a hunting and collecting expedition to Lake Salvador, during last spring, my attention was arrested by quite a number of these shell-heaps on the banks of Bayou Couba. At first sight some of them appeared insignificant in size, but these I found to be mounds of some magnitude, almost entirely submerged by the lake and bayou waters, only the very tops of them, now overgrown with cut-grass and blackberry-vines, being exposed. Others, however, a short distance away from the water, had preserved their outlines almost intact, but to find about them indications of special or designed forms is absolutely impossible. Not being prepared at the time to undertake further investigations, I had to content myself with the most superficial observations, and, as yet, these mounds remain to be examined thoroughly.

A little more than a year ago an account was received of the destruction of a large shell-mound on Lake Prien, in Calcasieu parish, in which a number of bodies and implements had been unearthed. I would have gone to the locality at the time, but the outbreak of fever and subsequent establishment of the quarantine prevented my departure, and not until the end of August this year was I enabled to leave for Calcasieu parish.

Upon my arrival in Lake Charles I was informed that the shell-mound just spoken of was situated about ten miles from the city, on the southwest end of Lake Prien. Securing a buggy I went down to the mound. It certainly had been a very large one, but only the edges were left of it now. Its length must have been originally between 350 and 400 feet, its height about ten or fifteen, and in width more than sixty feet at the base.

A large tree had been growing in the centre, and around it some thirty skeletons had been found not more than a foot or a foot and a half below the surface. One of the railroad officials who superintended the work of destruction picked up quite a number of stone objects and some almost complete

pots. Not taking care of his finds everything was lost again. One of the skulls, however, was eventually sent to Tulane and is figured on plates I and II.

While looking about the now exposed bottom of the mound I found innumerable pieces of pottery, some fairly large others small, but all of these fragments were very coarse in material and make, altogether devoid of ornamentation, and consisted of nothing but clay, evidently very imperfectly worked. Unable to do more here, I returned to Lake Charles.

At the south end of the lake two other mounds are located; both of them, running close to and parallel with each other, are very large, rivaling in size the Prien-mound. The extreme south end of one had already been carted away, and part of the east side of it was being washed gradually into the lake.

Upon securing a number of men I started work on this mound about thirty feet from its southern extremity. The trench was commenced at the base, the shells were thrown aside, but nothing of unusual interest occurred until I noticed a black streak running in a somewhat irregular manner through the solid mass of shells. The lowest shells were resting upon solid earth composed of sandy clay. Here, of course, I had the base of the mound. Just about one foot in one place and two feet in another, above it, this black line, about one inch and a half in thickness, appeared, indicating that an interval in the deposit of shells had occurred. Two feet above this line of demarcation and at a height of a few feet above the base I found a human skeleton. The bones were completely decayed and did not permit of removal, but evidently belonged to an adult. The body was resting upon a thin layer of earth and decayed vegetable matter (another line separating the shell deposit), which extended over an area of about twenty feet, and was gradually but not uniformly sloping toward the base of the mound. The body appeared to have been deposited without ceremonial, for I could find nothing to indicate such, and was covered directly with a layer of shells about twelve or fourteen inches thick, which extended further to the left into the mound. On this layer, nearly four feet to the left of the body, I found ashes

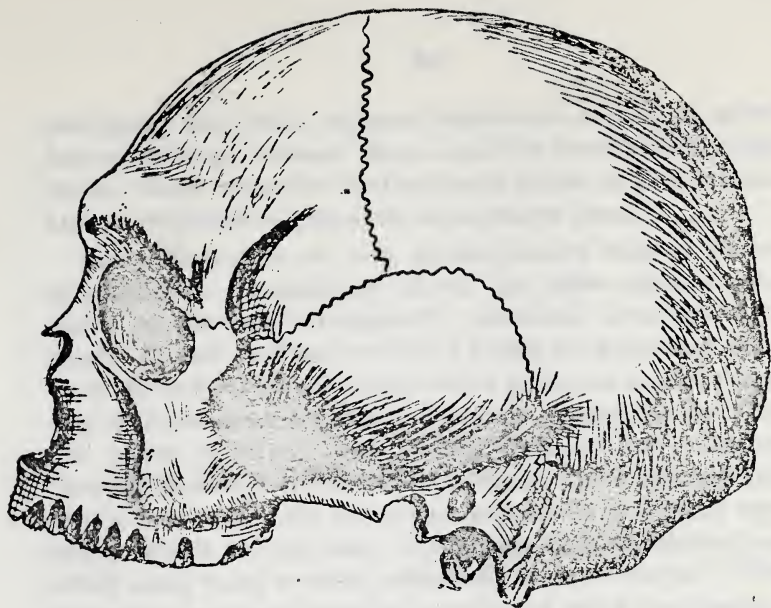


FIG. 1.

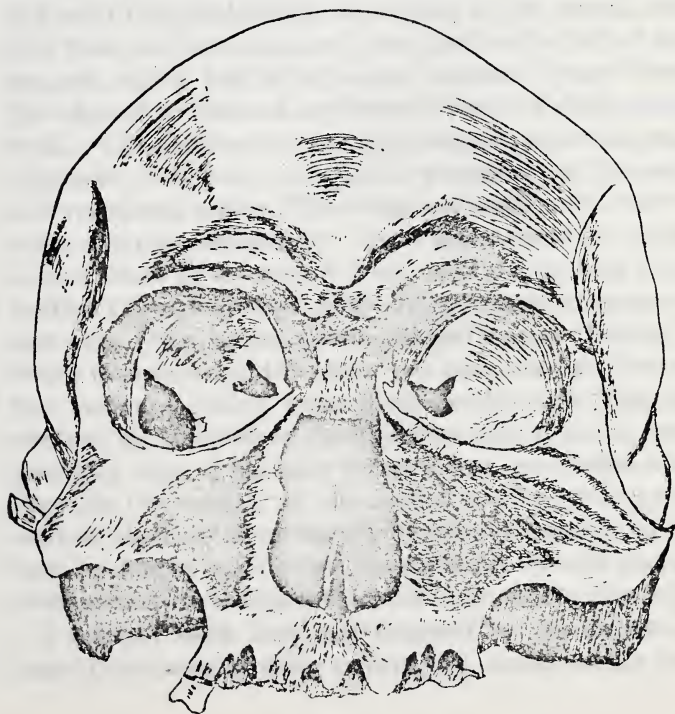


FIG. 2.

containing half-burnt shells of *Gnathodon* as well as several halves of large mussel shells and the bones of a fair-sized turtle. There were also the fragments of two or three vessels, almost as completely decayed as the turtle bones.

The pottery was of very coarse texture without lines or indentations. Immediately above the ashes another bed of shells of the same irregularity extended, its edges resting partly on the bed upon which I found the ashes and partly upon the body of another layer which appeared near the inner line of the excavated trench. The lines separating the different layers of shells were plainly visible in every instance, varying, however, in thickness, which at times approached to nearly four inches and more, and indicated a coating of vegetation which at the time had grown over the surface, and which upon being covered with shells simply decayed. Thus layer after layer was revealed, on some of which the remains of ashes, turtle bones and pottery fragments were exposed, but not until I reached nearly the middle of the mound, about ten feet from the base and nearly ten feet to the left of the body beneath, did I find other human remains, lying directly on the edge of an ash-bed, and upon a layer of shells common to both. The remains were totally decayed, crumbling upon the slightest touch, only a few of the phalanges of the hands and feet remaining entire. The ashes contained only a few apparently odd pieces of pottery. As I approached the crest of the mound other layers came to view, and within four feet of the surface I found another body, lying almost directly over the last one. The bones were in as bad a state of decay, if not worse than those of the other two skeletons, probably due to the moisture, which penetrated nearly eight feet from the surface, all the rest of the immense pile of shells remaining perfectly dry. I had now before me an excavation extending through the middle of the mound and presenting a vertical wall of shells of about twenty-five feet in length and eighteen feet in height upon which the different lines of demarcation were as plainly traced as charcoal-lines upon a sheet of paper.

I stopped work here and removed to the opposite broad side of the mound some twenty feet closer to the centre of

the long diameter. The irregularity of the layers, both in thickness and extent, became apparent immediately. Nothing of great consequence came to light; two ash-beds alone broke the monotony of the work in this section, which in extent rivaled the first. Owing to the difficulty of disposing the displaced material, I started again on the other side, moving, however, about thirty feet further up. Thinking that I might possibly come upon further and better preserved evidences of human activity, I made this trench larger than the first, but beyond the re-establishment of the periodic deposits of shells and the presence of two more ash-beds with their contents of a few turtle and fish bones and thoroughly decayed pottery I found nothing. Other human remains, with the exception of the three bodies already mentioned, I could not discover. I have no doubt that others existed, but of course entire removal of such immense quantities of shells composing a mound of nearly 400 feet in length can only be undertaken by a railroad corporation.

Wishing to ascertain whether the other mound was constructed in a like manner or probably might yield better results, I selected a place near the centre of its long diameter to commence operations. I was not very long in discovering that in construction it was an exact counterpart of the former. I succeeded in making a fairly large-sized hole into the side of the mound, but was in no other way rewarded for my trouble. I intended to resume work on the following day, but upon my return to the city (Lake Charles) rumors of fever and the dread of quarantine caused me to suspend all further attempts.

In reviewing the results of the examination of the two shell-mounds I believe I am justified in drawing the following conclusions: That they were certainly the result of human activity, but that they were evidently not built for any special purpose, either sacrificial or as signal mounds or as protection against overflow like the earth mounds of the more inland territory; moreover it appears unlikely even that they were built by the same people who constructed the latter. If we allow the thorough decay of everything con-

tained in these shell-heaps to have any weight at all in determining their age, I believe we may safely give them priority over the earth-works. Some archaeologists believe them to have been built before the coast inundation, and if no mistake occurred in the observations made by an educated and enlightened planter of Calcasieu parish, Mr. Ramsay, whom I had the pleasure to meet in Lake Charles, this assumption may yet be proven to be correct.

While sinking a well nearly a year ago on his plantation some eight or ten miles south of Lake Charles, the workmen dug through nearly ten feet of red clay; at that depth, however, they came upon a solid shell-heap of nearly five feet in thickness. Mr. Ramsay assured me that upon examination he could see no difference between this shell-bank and others he had observed above ground, and especially those I had examined. Then, again, the bases of some of the shell-heaps of Bayou Couba and Lake Salvador, already mentioned in the beginning of this report, are just about the same distance below the surface of the newly forming and gradually rising soil and the surface of the normal water-stand.

While digging the foundation of the new drainage pump in the rear of our city we found evidences of a former sea beach at about just the same depth as the soil upon which these submerged and buried shell-heaps were deposited. This ancient beach I examined myself not so very long ago.

My opinion about the shell mounds, according to the evidence afforded by those examined in Calcasieu parish, is that they are simply the result of successive and periodic accumulations of shells thrown into promiscuous heaps by tribes who habitually congregated on the banks of lakes and streams during certain seasons for the purpose of feeding on the molluscs, as we are now wont to consume oysters at a certain time of the year by preference, if for no other reasons. It is a well-known fact that to this day certain Indian tribes of Central and South America migrate to the shores of lakes and streams in the season when the turtles seek the shores to deposit their eggs. The Indians congregate in large numbers to catch and eat the turtles and to feast upon the eggs. As

surely as the turtles were known to seek certain places on the banks of streams and lakes, just as surely were the Indians in the habit of making their appearance also.

From this very circumstance, therefore, I deduce that the shell-heaps in Louisiana and other States were the result of just such periodic visitations of a population inhabiting the neighborhood of these coast lines for the purpose of fishing for and feasting upon these countless numbers of *Gnathodon* or *Rangia cyrenoides*. The irregularity of either the size or the thickness of the successive layers themselves and the appearance of ash-beds and deposition of human bodies at different depths seem to me other circumstances arguing strongly in support of this theory.

Over the preceding periods of accumulation (it may have occurred semi-annually or annually), the people built their fires, and the following year the same process was repeated and kept up for generations, until finally these people disappeared themselves or were forced by other invaders to abandon their former habits entirely.

ANCIENT BASKET WORK FROM AVERY'S ISLAND.

By PROF. GEORGE E. BEYER, Tulane University.

The fact of the occurrence of human remains associated with those of extinct animals on Petite Anse or Avery's Island was first noted more than thirty years ago, when a specimen of woven matting or basket work was sent to the Smithsonian Institute. This relic was removed from the soil while sinking a shaft to obtain a supply of the only recently-discovered rock salt deposit. Since that time, however, no further trace of human activity, imbedded in a similar location and under similar circumstances, had been noted scientifically until quite recently (November, 1898), when accidentally a gentleman officially connected with the salt mines happened to notice a piece of this basket work protruding from the soil in one of the now numerous occurring cavings, at a depth of sixteen or eighteen feet from the surface.

Receiving a very kind and cordial invitation from Avery's Island to further investigate the find in behalf of Tulane University, I was detailed by the president of the University to proceed to the locality, arriving there December 1, 1898.

With the assistance of Mr. Sidney Bradford, who first noticed the ancient remains, I was enabled to locate the cave, where they had become exposed through washings caused by the almost incessant heavy rains of previous weeks.

The surface of the island in the immediate vicinity of the salt works has become perforated by immense openings, due to the caving in, or collapsing rather, of larger or smaller areas of land. This collapsing took its start immediately after the sinking of the first air-shaft, about eleven years ago. First in one direction and then in another, the ground would suddenly give way, leaving a chasm of several feet in extent. The cause of these occurrences is, in my opinion, not far to seek, since the entire formation of the island rests immediately upon an enormous deposit of very nearly chemically pure rock salt. The admittance of air and water to the surface of the salt caused its superficial crust to become eroded until the superimposed mass of earth simply rested upon almost stalamite-like points of salt, and these gradually weakening also, no longer sufficed to uphold the tremendous weight from above, and as a consequence gave way. Subsequent rains gradually washed away more and more, until now the beholder gazes into cavities of immense extent, from whose base the spine-like surface of the now exposed salt deposit protrudes in an awe-inspiring manner.

The depth of these openings varies between fifteen and twenty feet, and the stratification of the earth crust is plainly divisible into six or eight layers, ranging in thickness from six or eight inches to nearly four feet. Examination of several of the cavings showed that the stratum resting upon the salt consists of drift material, evidently not deposited at one time. This drift is composed of a very compact mixture of gravel, clay and sand of apparently very even distribution of about two feet thickness in each of the two distinguishable layers. Between these two strata of drift, nearly two

feet above the salt and fifteen or sixteen feet from the surface, this basket work, as well as several well preserved pieces of wood, had been found. The wood plainly exhibited the rather jagged surfaces of cuts made with crude, and in all probability, stone implements.

Upon descending to the place where Mr. Bradford had found and removed all of the basket work so far exposed, I continued to dig away the concrete drift, but I was very soon compelled to cease my efforts. Besides with the exception of a few small pieces there was nothing left *in situ*. Not being able to secure labor, I spent two or three more days in searching for other remains and the examination of several other cavings. The pieces of matting Mr. Bradford removed are large—nearly two feet square. The material is a species of *Arundinaria* or southern cane, and undoubtedly owing to the strongly saline impregnation of the soil, exceedingly well preserved. What the original use of this manufacture has been can only be conjectured, although one of the pieces, rather finer in texture than the others, which are very coarse, would indicate its having been a receptacle rather than the wall of a hut. Lying near this and partially covered by the protruding cane, Mr. Bradford found a molar of an extinct form of *Equus*, but whether this tooth is referable to *Equus intermedius*, Cope, or *Equus major*, Leidy, I was not prepared to determine without comparisons. Moreover, I am now almost convinced that this tooth should in no way be associated with the human remains under consideration, but that it only accidentally lodged where it was found, and that it had been washed from the above lying strata.

The remains of extinct mammals, such as *Mastodon*, *Elephas*, *Mylodon*, *Equus* and others, have been found imbedded in strata from eight to ten feet above the drifts, and no matter what computation of age geologically speaking may be arrived at, the fact remains nevertheless that man existed in that part of our State prior even to the imbedding in the soil of those gigantic *Pachyderms*.

The rock salt deposit was unknown to the year 1862—salt, however, was made in the same locality by the aborigines, by

evaporation; the immense quantities of broken pottery, which are found superimposed of the clay strata containing animal remains, giving ample evidence of an industry formidable already in prehistoric times.

In conclusion, I must remark, however, that from all appearances of this rather loosely woven and fragile basket-work, I would judge it to have been imbedded *in situ*, and that it was not washed, as Professor Hilgard thought at the time, from the surrounding hills. In fact, the statements of both Professor Hilgard as well as Dr. Fontaine, upon the find of the basket-work and the location of the fossil bones, are somewhat obscure and contradictory.

Further explorations of the same localities are of the greatest importance, and may help to settle the still unanswered question: When did man make his first appearance on this continent?

THE NORTHWESTERN BOUNDARY OF LOUISIANA, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE FRENCH CESSION OF 1803.*

By JOHN R. FICKLEN.

"The possible destiny of the United States of America," says Coleridge, "as a nation of 100,000,000 free-men, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, living under the laws of Alfred, and speaking the language of Shakespeare and Milton, is an august conception."—Quoted from Greenhow.

About a year ago the present writer received a letter from a prominent judge in Montana, asking that the Louisiana Historical Society would kindly furnish him with some information in regard to a recent map issued by the Land Office of the United States (in 1896). He called attention to the fact

*This paper was read before the Louisiana Historical Society April 27, 1898. Some months later Hon. Binger Hermann, Commissioner of the General Land Office of the United States, published a booklet, in which he stated that the map of 1896 was based on an error, and that the Louisiana purchase did not embrace the Oregon Territory, thereby accentuating the inconsistency of the statements made by the general government on this subject. As this article is not in accord with Mr. Hermann's on other points, it was thought best to publish it.

that this map, which bore the *imprimatur* of the government at Washington, declared that the so-called Oregon territory had been ceded to the United States by the French government in 1803. He himself, he said, had always been of the opinion that the jurisdiction of France in 1803 did not extend beyond the Rocky Mountains, and that the claim of the United States to the Oregon territory rested on other grounds. The question is an interesting one, and the object of the present paper is to attempt to throw some light upon the matter by the aid of the investigations of the territorial limits of the United States that have been made at various periods.

The remark of the First Consul, when Barbé-Marbois called his attention to the ambiguity existing in the treaty of cession in regard to the limits of Louisiana, has often been repeated. He laconically declared that if no obscurity existed it would perhaps be wise policy to insert some. He doubtless meant that the United States government was in a position to obtain the upper hand in any negotiations that might arise over its territorial limits. Whether the remark was intended as a compliment or not is involved in as great ambiguity as the clause in the treaty of cession to which he referred.

It may be premised just here that the United States Government has not been consistent in its official utterances on the subject of the boundaries fixed by the Cession of 1803. For instance, in the volume of House Miscellanies bearing the title Public Domain of U. S. (1883) the Oregon territory is included in the list of accessions of territory obtained by the Louisiana Purchase. Yet two years later (1885) H. Gannett, chief Geographer of the United States in his "Boundaries of the United States," printed by the Government under the title of U. S. Geological Survey, quotes the Crozat Charter of 1712, and adds: "From this it appears that Louisiana was regarded as comprising the drainage basin of the Mississippi as far north as the mouth of the Illinois, with the basins of all its branches which enter below this point, including the Missouri, but excluding that portion in the southwest claimed by Spain." "It is moreover certain," he continues, "that the area now comprised in Washington, Oregon, and Idaho was not in-

cluded." Gannett's view of the matter is quoted here merely as a proof of the lack of consistency existing in the official utterances of the Government. Exception might easily be taken to it because it declares that the same territory granted to Crozat was in 1762 ceded to Spain by France, when all my hearers know that the Illinois District was annexed to Louisiana in 1717. This restoration, as Albert Gallatin showed the British Commissioners in 1826, might have an important bearing on the western boundary of Louisiana in 1762. Again the United Census authorities of 1870 held that the Louisiana Purchase included Oregon; but those of 1880 held a contrary view. (See Winsor, Vol. VII).

It is a well-known fact that Thomas Jefferson, as early as January, 1803, before the purchase of Louisiana was consummated, suggested that an exploring party be sent into the Oregon region, a suggestion that was actually carried out in the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804-6. From his attitude at this time it has been sometimes presumed that he thought he was purchasing the Oregon Territory, and this view is actually found in a recent history ("The Middle Period") written by John W. Burgess, of Columbia University, who adds that Jefferson, from the point of view of international law, was certainly wrong in holding this opinion. Burgess' criticism of Jefferson, however, may be shown to be entirely gratuitous, for in the VIIth volume of his works, Jefferson, writing in 1816, uses these words: "On the waters of the Pacific we can found no claim in right of Louisiana." This utterance of the actual purchaser of Louisiana might seem conclusive to some persons, but as he quotes the Crozat charter as an authority, his opinion may still be contested by those who show that the charter of Crozat did not properly define the later boundaries of the province of Louisiana.*

* Since the above was written, I have found a quotation from a letter written by Jefferson in August, 1803, in which he says: "The boundaries (of Louisiana) which I deem not admitting question are the highlands on the western side of the Mississippi, inclosing all its waters (the Missouri, of course) and terminating in a line drawn from the northwest point of the Lake of the Woods to the nearest source of the Mississippi." It is also noteworthy that before his death Jefferson wrote to J. J. Astor, and spoke of the Oregon Territory as perhaps destined to form some day an independent nation.

As the view of the purchaser of Louisiana has been given, it seems only proper to give the view of the distinguished Frenchman who was the agent of the First Consul in negotiating the sale of the province to the United States. This is all the more necessary because Mr. Gayarré in his history fails to quote the most significant of Marbois' utterances on this subject. I translate from Marbois' History of Louisiana: "According to ancient documents the bishoprick of Louisiana was to extend to the Pacific Ocean, and the diocesan limits thus laid down were not subject to dispute. But these limits were at best a matter of expectation or hope, and the savages of those regions never had a suspicion of the spiritual jurisdiction to be exercised over them. Besides this spiritual jurisdiction had naught in common with the question of dominion or ownership." Marbois is writing in 1829, and he adds: "The United States, instead of recognizing that there was ground for reasonable doubts, claimed that it could establish incontestable rights. The shores of the western ocean were certainly not comprised in the cession, but already the dominion of the United States is established there."

As Marbois also quotes the Crozat Charter as evidence of the correctness of his position, it will be seen that his view of the whole question is identical with that of Jefferson, expressed thirteen years before.

Upon what authority, therefore, does the United States claim to have purchased the Oregon Territory from France in 1803? Let us see what were the ambiguous terms used in the Treaty of Cession in 1803. Art. 1 says: "Whereas, by Article 3 of the treaty concluded at St. Ildephonso, the 9th Vendémiaire, an 9 (1st October, 1800), between the First Consul of the French Republic and his Catholic Majesty, it was agreed as follows: 'His Catholic Majesty promises and engages on his part to retrocede to the French Republic, six months after the full and entire execution of the conditions and stipulations herein relative to his Royal Highness, the Duke of Parma, the colony or province of Louisiana, with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it, and such as it should be after the treaties subsequently entered into between

Spain and other States.' And whereas, in pursuance of the treaty, and particularly of the third article, the French Republic has an incontestable title to the said territory, the First Consul of the French Republic, desiring to give to the United States a strong proof of his friendship, doth hereby cede to the said United States in the name of the French Republic, forever and in full sovereignty, the said territory, with all its rights and appurtenances, as fully and in the same manner as they had been acquired by the French Republic in virtue of the above mentioned treaty."

Those who have studied the History of Louisiana from the year 1762 to 1800 will immediately perceive that we have in the ambiguity of this treaty a fruitful source of contention not only with reference to the northwestern boundary of the province, but also with reference to West Florida and Texas. The latter phases of the subject can not, of course, be discussed here, so we shall return to the northwestern boundary question.

In the long series of negotiations with Great Britain touching the boundary between Canada and the United States, the latter government never rested its claim to the Oregon Territory wholly on the purchase of Louisiana. The purchase of Louisiana appears only as a part of the cumulative evidence that establishes the claim of our government to that vast territory. It will now be necessary to examine the facts alleged by those who have maintained the purchase of Louisiana established a claim on the part of the United States to the Oregon Territory.

It will be remembered that when we purchased the Floridas from Spain in 1819 we abandoned all claims to Texas and accepted as the Spanish boundary of Louisiana a line running from the mouth of the Sabine river up that stream to the Red, and along that river to the 100th meridian, and from that point due north to the Arkansas, following that stream to its source, thence northward or southward, as the case might be, to the 42d parallel, and along that parallel to the Pacific. This 42d parallel is the present northern boundary of California. At the same time Spain transferred to the United States all claims that she might have to the Oregon

Territory by reason of Spanish navigators having touched upon that coast.* The relinquishment of her claims on the part of Spain evidently strengthened the claims of the United States based on the exploration of the Columbia river by Captain Gray in 1792, the Lewis and Clark exploration of 1804-6 and the establishment of Astoria in 1811, and the so-called "Continuity of Territory." Moreover, in 1818 we had concluded an important treaty with Great Britain. It was agreed to run a line between the Lake of the Woods in Minnesota to the Rocky Mountains as the boundary between Canada and the United States, which gave to the United States a portion of territory in the Red River of the North, but took away a small slice of Louisiana. West of the Rockies, however, no division was made, but the territory was to be occupied jointly by the two nations for ten years.

In 1821 the ukase of the Czar of all the Russias fixing the southern boundary of his dominions at the 51st parallel, together with the threat of some foreign powers to aid Spain in crushing her revolted colonies, brought forth the expression of the famous Monroe Doctrine. Finally, in 1824 and 1825, by treaties between Russia, on the one hand, and the United States, on the other, 54 deg. 40 min. was fixed as the northern boundary of Oregon. But the question between Great Britain and the United States as to which had the better claim to Oregon remained unsettled, and in 1844 we came near going to war with the cry of "All Oregon or None! Fifty-four Forty or Fight." Two years later we compromised the matter with Great Britain and fixed the northern boundary of Oregon at the 49th parallel, where it has remained to the present day. (When the line gets to Vancouver's Sound, it follows the middle of the channel to the ocean.) The student of these negotiations will find that the United States throughout laid great and proper stress on the two elements that are most important in fixing the question of ownership—i. e., exploration and occupation. Here her claims, she maintained, rested on a firmer basis than those of Great Britain, and here doubtless it would have been wiser to let them rest; for after

* It is noteworthy that J. Q. Adams in securing this line to the Pacific did not claim that it was obtained by purchase of Louisiana.

all the strength of the chain depends upon the strength of the weakest link. However this may be, three distinguished Americans have attempted to prove that the purchase of Louisiana actually included the Oregon Territory. If we name them in the order in which they wrote, they are James Monroe, Albert Gallatin, and Caleb Cushing.

In 1804, James Monroe, while in London carrying on negotiations with the British government in regard to the neutral rights of the two countries, submitted to the Minister of Foreign Affairs a statement to the effect that he had discovered that, in accordance with the treaty of Utrecht (1713), commissioners were appointed by Great Britain and France to run a line between the American possessions of the two powers, and that the said commissioners did actually agree upon the following line: To begin at a cape 58 deg. 30 min. north latitude, on the Atlantic coast (in Labrador); thence southwesterly to Lake Mistosin (Mistassinie, near northern border of the present Quebec); thence farther southwest to latitude 49 deg. north latitude, and along that line *indefinitely*. Note that this line, after leaving Lake Mistosin, would strike the 49th deg. about the northwestern border of Quebec, thence, on the same parallel, to the Lake of the Woods, and if prolonged, as Monroe says it was, indefinitely, it would correspond exactly, after leaving the Lake of the Woods, to the northern boundary of the United States as fixed by the treaty with Great Britain in 1846. Now Monroe argued that, as this line was prolonged indefinitely, it showed that Louisiana, below 49 deg., extended to the Pacific Ocean, and as the United States, in 1803, purchased all the original rights of France with respect to Louisiana, it had purchased the territory west of the Rockies at least below 49 deg. In a document laid before the British Commissioners in 1826, Albert Gallatin, who was the first to show that Crozat Charter did not include all the Territory of Louisiana, maintained the same proposition, and, curious to say, for many years no attempt was made by the British government to refute it. It was first denied by Greenhow in his learned History of Oregon (1844), and again by George Bancroft in the first edition of his History of the United States. After the ap-

pearance of Greenhow's book, however, Twiss, an English professor, adopted Greenhow's view in an elaborate work on the Oregon question. Greenhow showed whence Monroe had most probably drawn his information, and argued that the evidence against the fact, doubtless never seen by Mr. Monroe, and apparently not suspected by the British, was very strong.

Let us examine Monroe's authority for the statement that the line between the British and French possessions in the northwest was actually run along the line 49 deg, *indefinitely*; for upon this statement hangs an important portion of the argument. Monroe does not give his authority, but it seems certain that he based his conclusions on a map published in Postlewayt's Dictionary of Commerce (published in England in 1751), for he refers to Postlewayt in other parts of his correspondence, and the map in question bears him out in his assertions. On this map is a note declaring that "the line that parts French Canada from British Canada was settled by commissioners after Peace of Utrecht (1713), making a curve from Davis' Inlet in the Atlantic sea down to 49 deg. through Lake Abitibis (now Abittibi) to the northwest ocean." As the treaty of Utrecht was confirmed in the treaty of Paris, in 1763, the importance of this line of demarcation will be readily perceived. The map of Palairet and Delaroche (London, 1765) gives the same line. In Map of British Possessions (Bowen and Gibson, 1775), and in one or two inferior maps, the 49th parallel is given as the southern boundary of Hudson Bay Company's territories from the vicinity of Lake Superior west to the Red River of the North, down which the boundary goes to Lake Winnipeg. These are the only authorities, says Greenhow, that can be quoted in support of Monroe's view.

From the evidence thus submitted it would seem that we should unhesitatingly accept Monroe's view of the matter, and both Jefferson and the British Minister of Foreign Affairs seem to have held that Monroe had placed the matter beyond dispute. Greenhow, however, did not hesitate to maintain that no such line was ever run. He showed that in Mitchell's fine map of 1755 (published under the patronage of the Colo-

nial Department), and in the large and beautiful map of 1738 (published also under the patronage of the Colonial Department) Monroe's boundary line does not appear. He showed also that in Postlewayt's Dictionary, to which the first map referred to was attached, it is expressly denied that the said boundary line was ever run. Moreover Anderson, in his great History of Commerce (3 volumes) gives a similar denial, while Charlevoix, in *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, speaking of the year 1722, says: "Even the negotiations between the courts for settlement of boundaries ceased, though commissioners had been appointed on both sides for that purpose since 1719." Summing up the evidence advanced by himself, Greenhow concludes as follows: "In the absence of more direct light on the subject from history, we are forced to regard the boundaries indicated by nature—namely, the high land separating the waters of the Mississippi from those flowing into the Pacific, as the true western boundaries of Louisiana, ceded by France to Spain in 1762 and retroceded to France in 1800, and transferred to the United States in 1803." However, the view of Greenhow was not held by Albert Gallatin. In his well-known "Counter Proposition," delivered to the English commissioners in 1826, he says: "The settlement of that northern limit (after the Treaty of Utrecht) still further strengthens the claims of the United States to the territory west of the Rocky Mountains."* The

* Mr. Gallatin also showed that the Crozat charter embraced the Mississippi only from the gulf to the district of the Illinois, and he maintained that, when the Illinois district was reannexed to Louisiana in 1717, the latter extended as far as the most northern limit of the French possessions in North America, and thereby west of Canada. Canada was ceded to Great Britain in 1763, but Louisiana, being west of Canada, itself extended by the rule of "Continuity of Territory" to the Pacific, and hence Canada could not have extended so far. The limits of the Illinois district, which on some maps included Winnipeg Lake, were sufficiently indefinite to give some color to this claim, and Twiss, in his answer to Gallatin, could only say that in 1761 the Duc de Choiseul declared: "The King of France has, in no part of his memorial of propositions, affirmed that all which did not belong to Canada appertained to Louisiana; it is even difficult to conceive that such an assertion could be advanced. France, on the contrary, demanded that the intermediate nations between Canada and Louisiana, as also between Virginia and Louisiana, shall be considered as neutral nations, independent of the sovereignty of the two crowns." It is generally held that Gallatin laid too much stress upon the annexation of the Illinois district in 1717 as constituting a claim on the part of the United States to the Pacific coast. It may be added that Dr. Sealie (in proceedings of American Historical Association, Vol. IV) puts forward a novel view. He says: "In 1763 Great Britain renounced all claim to the American Continent west of the Mississippi, and, as the Mississippi was supposed to go farther north than it really does, Great Britain intended to renounce all of the Continent south of at least 55 deg. north latitude."

same view was taken by Caleb Cushing in 1873 in his account of the Treaty of Washington, and he criticises Bancroft adversely for having been misled by Greenhow in the first edition of his history of the United States. Barrows, in his history of Oregon (1883), after reviewing the long controversy, declares: "Much, if not the whole, depends on the statement of Monroe, and an examination of the English or French archives of 1713-14-15 on the execution of the Treaty of Utrecht would probably close the discussion (as to whether Louisiana included any territory west of the Rockies)."

It is a pity that Barrows could not have waited a few years before he wrote these lines, for in the year 1888 Mr. Bancroft brought out the revised edition of his history, in which, in the opinion of the present writer, he settles this question for all time. Mr. Bancroft says: "Cushing is wrong; so is Monroe, and Greenhow is right. An exhaustive research," he continues, "was made at my request in the British Foreign Department and in the record office, with the result that no line was agreed upon. Louisiana was held by the French to extend at the west and south to the river Del Norte; the boundary line of French *pretensions* in disregard of the claims of Spain crossed the Rocky Mountains, and sought a termination in the Gulf of California. At the northwest, where it met the possessions of the Company of Hudson's Bay, the British Commissioners, Bladen and Young Pulteney, who repaired to Paris to adjust the boundaries, met irreconcilable differences, and no attempt was made to run a line." This is the latest authoritative statement on the subject. My hearers may judge of the weight to be attached to it. It would certainly seem to estop the United States from declaring that Great Britain had no right to enter the Oregon region below 49 deg. (the present northern boundary of the United States), on the ground that commissioners after the Treaty of Utrecht settled the parallel 49 to the Pacific as the southern limit of British pretensions. Great Britain could quote Bancroft's latest edition with telling effect.

Let us now pass in rapid review the claims put forward by Spain and Great Britain to the Oregon region, with a side

glance at the attitude of the United States toward these claims. We shall thus be enabled to see with what justice the United States now (1898) maintains that Oregon formed a part of the cession of Louisiana by France in 1803. In the face of Marbois' denial it can hardly be maintained that France had any good claim to the possession of the region west of the Rockies.* Nor did Spain ever found her claim to any portion of that region on the transfer of Louisiana to her by France in 1762. The claim that Louisiana previous to 1762 included the Oregon territory was a claim that France could never have legitimately made for herself, but which the United States Commissioners, Gallatin and Cushing, made for her after the purchase of 1803. Nor was it a claim that was ever acknowledged by Spain. Let us see, then, upon what grounds Spain rested her claim to the Oregon region. This claim rested upon voyages of her mariners to the Pacific coast in 1543, 1592, 1603, 1774, and 1775. Occupation of any portion of this western country, however, had never passed 42 deg., the present northern boundary of California, and thus it will be seen that Spain had not completed her title to the Oregon territory. Nevertheless she held that she had as good a claim as any other nation, and when in 1787 she discovered some British ships in Nootka Sound (on the western coast of Vancouver's Island), she promptly seized them as intruders. The matter, however, was settled in the so-called Convention of Nootka in 1790. This convention was a compromise. Spain did not quitclaim her title to Oregon, but left the question of dominion over the region in abeyance, and agreed with Great Britain that both nations should navigate and fish as well as trade freely in the region and make settlements. Great Britain had also advanced claims of discovery on the Pacific coast, and this convention tacitly acknowledged that they were worthy of consideration. It is true that the convention was abrogated in 1807 by war

* It is true that George Bancroft says: "The boundary line of French pretensions crossed the Rocky Mountains and sought a termination in the Gulf of California." But such pretensions seem to have represented the views of an occasional French writer (e.g., Escarbot in his "*Historie de la Nouvelle France*," 1617); and Twiss declares that "no authoritative document has been cited to show that the French Crown ever claimed such an extent of unknown territory or that its claim was ever admitted."

between the two countries, but in 1814, eleven years after the United States purchased Louisiana, it was actually renewed and I do not find that at this time the United States made any protest against this renewal of a bargain between Spain and Great Britain to trade in this western region and make settlements there.

Finally, in 1819, when Spain sold Florida to the United States, she transferred at the same time, as we have seen, all her claims to the Oregon territory north of 42 deg. parallel. This shows clearly that Spain still maintained these claims, and in accepting them the United States tacitly admitted that they were worthy of consideration.

The position of the United States was now this: She could legitimately lay claim to the Oregon region through the exploration of the Columbia river in 1792, through the explorations of Lewis and Clark in 1804-6, and through the establishment of Astoria by John Jacob Astor in 1811, and she held a deed for all Spanish claims upon that region, the last being perhaps the most valuable of all. The United States still admitted that there was an account to be settled with Great Britain, whose pretensions were large and hard to satisfy.

We have already seen that in 1818, a year before the purchase of Florida, the United States attempted to settle its differences with Great Britain in regard to the Northwest boundary line. Negotiations were successful so far as to effect a treaty which declared that from the Lake of the Woods to the Stony Mountains the boundary should be the 49 deg. parallel; but no settlement could be arrived at with reference to the country west of those mountains, except that "the country claimed by either party westward of the mountains, with its harbors, bays and creeks, and the navigation of all rivers within the same, shall be free and open for a term of ten years to the vessels, citizens and subjects of the two powers, it being understood that the agreement shall be without prejudice to any exclusive claim of either or to the claim of any other power." In 1827, this convention, which had granted a limit of ten years, was continued indefinitely,

but after October 20, 1828, it could be terminated by either party on twelve months' notice. From the wording of this treaty it will be seen that the United States was not prepared to set up any exclusive title to the Oregon territory, though that title was certainly strengthened when Spain renounced her claims in 1819. Acting upon the permission contained in the treaty, the Hudson Bay Company hastened to rush in and occupy all the territory it could. The treaty of the United States with Russia, in 1824, by which Russia's southern boundary was fixed at 54 deg. 40 min., did not at all settle the question of dominion at issue between the United States and Great Britain.

Finally, about the year 1836, Dr. Marcus Whitman went out to Walla Walla, now in the State of Washington. After some years of residence in that region he discovered that the British intended to occupy the country if they could, and he concluded that if the government at Washington did not bestir itself the British scheme would be successful. In the fall of 1842 he started on a perilous journey of four thousand miles to the national capital. He not only persuaded Congress that the Oregon territory would be a valuable acquisition, but he took back with him in 1843 a band of 200 emigrant families. The settlement of these immigrants in the territory placed the claims of the United States on a better basis than ever before. Two years later James K. Polk became President of the United States, and the Republic of Texas having been admitted into the Union under his predecessor, the cry went up that as an offset to this addition to the slave-holding region of the South, the whole of the Oregon territory from 42 deg. to 54 deg. 40 min. (the southern boundary of Russia) should be occupied and the British driven out. It looked for a while as if we were going to have a war with Great Britain. Negotiations, however, were substituted for an appeal to arms. The United States had been for some time willing to continue the line along the 49th deg. from the Rockies to the Pacific, but this was far from agreeable to Great Britain; for it gave to the United States the lower end of Vancouver's Island and the important Strait of Juan de

Fuca to the south of that island. Finally, in 1846, a compromise was agreed upon. The United States consented to run the line to Vancouver's Sound and through the middle of the strait to the ocean. The latter part of this line was made a matter of dispute, and had many years later to be submitted to the arbitration of Russia. It was definitively settled by the Treaty of Washington in 1871, in favor of the line as demanded by the United States.

Such is a brief history of the negotiations that were entered into by the United States government before the ghost of the Oregon question could finally be laid. The controversy may be said to have lasted sixty-eight years (1803-1871). It was a debatable question from the beginning, and very generally has it been recognized as such by the leading historians of the country.

In conclusion, it may be added that no recent historian, as far as the present writer can discover, maintains that the territory of Louisiana, as purchased in 1803, included any of the region west of the Rockies. The map published in the new history of the United States, by Professor Channing, of Harvard, may be taken as the general type. It is true that Barrows, who is often quoted, leaves the question of the western extension of Louisiana in doubt, but he lays great stress on the statements of Mr. Monroe, which have since been refuted by Mr. George Bancroft. In view, therefore, of the position now taken by the most prominent students of our history, it would seem more in accord with sound principles of law and equity for the United States government to base its dominion over the Oregon region on other grounds than the rights acquired by the purchase of Louisiana in the year 1803.

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Livaudais, Alfred

Lyons, I. L.

McConnell, J. M., Jr.

McLoughlin, J. J.

Richardson, Ida, Mrs.

Soniat, Charles T.

Soniat, G. V.

Suchon, Dr. E.

Titche, Bernard

Villere, Omer

Waddill, Frank

Williams, Espy

Zacharie, James S.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Charles Aldrich, Des Moines, Ia.
 J. Amos Barnett, Lincoln, Neb.
 J. D. Butler, Madison, Wis.
 Mother Austin Carroll, Mobile, Ala.
 Most Rev. Archbishop Chapelle, New Orleans.
 J. P. Dunn, Indianapolis, Ind.
 Gov. Murphy J. Foster, Baton Rouge.
 Mayor W. C. Flower, New Orleans.
 Vincent Y. Lane, Kansas City, Mo.
 Rev. Dr. B. M. Palmer, New Orleans.
 Reuben G. Thwaites, Madison, Wis.
 Michael Shoemaker, Jackson, Mich.
 E. O. Randall, Columbus, O.
 Henry Vignaud, Paris, France.
 Daniel Wilder, Kansas.
 Wm. C. Winslow, Boston, Mass.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED 1897-98.

Series 14, 15, 16 of list of books, pamphlets and maps
from library of Department of State.

Proceedings of the U. S. National Museum, Vol. 19.

Smithsonian Report, 1895.

Catalogue of Yale University, 1897-98.

Quarterly Texas State Historical Association.

Missouri Historical Society, Nos. 13, 14.

Royal Academy of Belle Lettres, London, 1894.

Rhode Island Historical Society, Vol. VI, No. 1.

Annals of Iowa, Vol. III, Nos. 5, 6.

Minnesota Historical Society.

Ohio, State, Archæological and Historical Society.

Presbyterian Historical Society.

A Preliminary Study of the Pueblo of Taos, New Mexico,
Merton Leland Miller.

The Confederate Reveille Memorial.

Mecklenburg Movement Association.

The Real Saint Denis, Bugbee.

Old Settlers' Annual.

PUBLICATIONS

....OF THE....

Louisiana Historical Society.

CONTENTS:

1. Transactions of the Society, 1899-1900.
2. New Orleans, the Old Streets and Places. Address
Delivered before the Louisiana Historical Society,
by Hon. Jas. S. Zacharie.

New Orleans, February, 1900.

ERRATA.

PAGES.

45. Important should read *insignificant*.
46. Mortagorda should read *Matagorda*.
47. Cartherine should read *Catherine*.
47. Cite should read *site*.
47. Riviere should read *rivière*.
48. Regards should read *records*.
48. Persons should read *poisons*.
48. Ridd should read *rid*.
49. Clean should read *clear*.
49. \$18,000 should read *\$180,000*.
50. Gayarre should read *Gayarré*.
52. Received should read *reviewed*.
53. Carbildo should read *Cabildo*.
53. Of Rojas should read *y Rojas*.
58. Serénos should read *Serenos*.
59. Stock should read *stocks*.
59. By hand should read *by oxen*.
60. Conti en bal should read *couri au bal*.
61. creoles should read *Creoles*.
63. Telagraph should read *telegraph*.
63. Normany should read *Normandy*.
64. Bréton should read *Breton*.
65. waist should read *wrist*.
65. stockings should read *stock*.
66. width and should read *with*.
70. Dauphine should read *Dauphiny*.
71. pronounced Chapitoulas should be *Chopitoulas*.
71. Magazines should read *Magasins*.
72. contry should read *country*.
73. la Metairie should read *Métairie*.
73. Prairie should read *farm*.
79. Gainnie should read *Gaienné*.
79. Edwards should read *Edward*.
79. Felicité should read *Félicité*.
81. Vincennes should read *Vincennes*.
82. Montegut should read *Montégut*.
83. in the site should read *on the site*.
84. Destréhan should read *Destréhan*.
85. to to the port should read *to the port*.
86. Synomyn should read *Synonyme*.
86. the disastrous ruin should read *a disastrous ruin of*.

PUBLICATIONS

....OF THE....

Louisiana Historical Society.

CONTENTS:

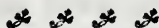
1. Transactions of the Society, 1899-1900.
2. New Orleans, its Old Streets and Places. Address
Delivered Before the Louisiana Historical Society,
by Hon. Jas. S. Zacharie.

VOL. II—PART III.

New Orleans, February, 1900.

4/23/1900

MINUTES OF MEETINGS
—OF THE—
Louisiana Historical Society,
1899-1900.



FEBRUARY 15TH, 1899.

The severe, cold weather at this date, attended with the unusual phenomenon of a heavy fall of snow, prevented sufficient attendance to form a quorum.

MARCH 15TH, 1899.

A full attendance of members and officers. After the regular order of business was transacted, a letter was read from Governor Murphy J. Foster, thanking the Society for the compliment of placing him on the Committee, appointed for the celebration by the Society, of the Centennial Anniversary of the Cession of Louisiana. A communication was read from Mr. Thos. M. Owen, Secretary of the Alabama Historical Society, informing the Louisiana Society of the approaching celebration by the Alabama Society of the Centennial Anniversary of the removal of the Spaniards from Alabama soil; also one from the Missouri Historical Society, asking the co-operation of the Louisiana Historical Society, in the St. Louis celebration of the Cession of Louisiana.

Miss Grace King read the paper of the evening, entitled: "Was the Espiritu Santo of the ancient Cartographers, the Mississippi?" in which she contested the argument advanced by Mr. Walter B. Scaife (in "America, its Geographical History, 1492-1892"); that the Espiritu Santo was the Mobile River. Miss King quoted a number of passages from the old historians and cited many ancient charts in the course of her reasoning. The paper was discussed at length and many interesting points in connection with it were brought out.

The City Engineer was quoted as stating that he was convinced from observations and measurements, made during a long experience in his profession in the city, that the bend in the river was formerly higher up than Jackson Square, and that it was slowly travelling down the river, by the natural wearing away of the bank; and that there was every evidence to prove, that when the city was founded, the batture or river front lay just outside of Royal St., and that all the space that to-day lies between Royal St. and the levee, may be looked upon as batture formation of a century and a half. Several years ago, when excavations were being made on the corner of Royal and Canal Sts., the laborers had come across portions of tree trunks several feet below the surface. The probability that, in prehistoric times, the Mississippi entered the Gulf through Lake Pontchartrain, and

that there, was the original mouth of the river, was discussed. The attention of the Society was called to the fact, that we were approaching the Bicentenary of the discovery of the mouth of the Mississippi, by Iberville; that it was in the Spring of 1799, that he entered the river and made his first settlement in the Colony. It was suggested as proper that the Society take some notice of the date. A resolution to this effect being carried, a Committee was appointed to confer with the managers of the Industrial Exhibition then being held in the city, for the purpose of securing a day during the Fair to be set apart for the observance of the event. Judge W. W. Howe and Professors Ficklen and Beyer were appointed upon this Committee. Mrs. Albert Baldwin, Messrs. Louis Poché, W. J. Waguespack, Dr. L. G. LeBeuf; endorsed by Professor Fortier; and Louis Bush, endorsed by Miss Grace King, were elected members of the Society.

The annual election of officers, postponed from the February meeting, resulted in the re-election of all, as follows: President, Alcée Fortier; First Vice-president, Dr. Gustave Devron; Second Vice-president, Prof. John R. Ficklen; Secretary, Miss Grace King; Assistant Secretary, Mr. Charles G. Gill; Treasurer, Mr. J. W. Cruzat. The following committees were named to serve during the year: Finance; Alfred Livaudais, H. F. Baldwin, Edgar Grima. Membership: W. H. Seymour, Prof. G. E. Beyer, Gustave V. Soniat. Work

and Archives: the President and Secretary of the Society, ex-officio; Prof. John John R. Ficklen, Dr. Gustave Devron, Charles G. Gill, Esq.

APRIL 19th, 1899.

Mr. James S. Zacharie, chairman of Committee for the Centennial Celebration of the Cession of Louisiana, made a report, the sum of which was presented to the Society in the following: "Resolved, by the Historical Society of Louisiana, that the centennial of the Acquisition of Louisiana by the United States be celebrated in the year 1903, by the dedication of a Colonial Museum in the old Cabildo buildings on Jackson Square, with appropriate ceremonies, to which invitations to participate in shall be extended to the French and Spanish Governments, and to the Governors, Officers and Historical Societies of the States that were created out of the former colony of Louisiana." This was passed unanimously.

A second paragraph of the resolution was discussed and referred to a committee (it was subsequently referred back to the Society for future consideration). President Fortier urged that if the Society took the matter in hand, work upon it be begun at once and prosecuted vigorously. The manner of proceeding upon the work was made the subject of an animated discussion among the members. On motion of Prof. Ficklen, Miss Grace King and Dr. Devron were appointed a committee to examine the volumes of "Notes et Documents"

in the custody of the Historical Society, and edit for publication such papers as were found necessary to historical students.

Prof. Fortier read a letter from the managers of the Industrial Exhibition Association, notifying him of the fixing upon May 11th as "Settlers' Day," when the first settlement of Louisiana would be celebrated. Prof. Fortier was appointed chairman of the committee to prepare a proper ceremony for its observance.

The essay of the evening was "Old Montreal," contributed by Mr. McLennen, the distinguished Canadian writer, visiting the city.

The manuscript was read by Prof. Ficklen, prefaced by the following letter from the author: "to the President of the Society: 'I only venture to offer this paper to your Society, on account of the interest manifested here, in all that touches on the beginnings of the old province of Louisiana. The Canadian element was so strong, so important a factor in the early days, so much of it remained as a parmanent element, making for the stability of the colony, that some account of the conditions and types which existed with us, may help to fix attention on the importance as a starting point for the story that envelopes so romantic a continuation at the mouth of the Mississippi. It is the same story and largely concerned with the same actors; for the old country Frenchman was but a passing figure on the scene, and had little stake in the

colony beyond his personal advancement, to be enjoyed if possible at home, amid the only surroundings he esteemed. Therefore it is to Canada, the cradle of a new race differing from the Frenchman ('le Francais de France') in its defects as in its virtues, the race of the LeMoyne, Juchereau, Rouer, Chauvin and their kind, that the historian must turn to discover the motives that lie between the lines of contemporary chroniclers and to translate into life the dust of official despatches and the dry bones of formal contracts." Mr. Mc. Lennan, in his paper, quoted directly from original documents in the notarial archives of Canada, hitherto unknown to the members of the Louisiana Society, and so, threw much light on the history of the families of the Louisiana pioneers.

Prof. Fortier read a letter from the managers of its Industrial Exhibition of New Orleans, notifying him of his appointment as chairman of a committee to arrange a programme of ceremonies for the proper observance of "Settlers' Day," May 11th, when the first settlement in Louisiana would be celebrated. Messrs. T. P. Thompson, Henry P. Dart and George W. Young, were elected members of the Society.

MAY 17TH, 1899.

The following communication from the High School Alumnae, was read: "At a regular meeting of the High School Alumnae, held at their assembly hall, on Friday, April 14th, the following

preamble and resolution were adopted: Whereas the old Spanish Cabildo on Jackson Square, constitutes a priceless legacy of the past to the present and future, and a plan has been suggested that these buldings be turned over to the Louisiana Historical Society, in trust for the establishment of a colonial museum; therefore be it resolved: that we the High School Alumnae do memorialize the proper authorities to take such steps as will bring about this end."

"A letter was read from Mr. E. Foster, Secretary of the Society of Naturalists, calling attention to an item in 'Niles' Register' for July 16th, 1825, describing the bones of an animal of immense size, which had been found on a little bayou, leading from the Mississippi River, about twenty miles below Fort St. Philip. Mr. Foster suggested that the Society could trace these remains and ascertain in what museum they were to be found. Mr. Gaspard Cusachs stated that he had in his possession a pamphlet written on this mammoth fossil, which had been sent to the British Museum. Mr. Mc. Lennan's paper, left unfinished at last meeting, was concluded. Mr. Mc. Lennan was officially thanked by resolution. A proclamation of O'Reilly, dated 21st September, 1769, and the proclamation of the President of the United States, relative to the Louisiana purchase, and the circular of the Secretary of the United States, convening Congress to ratify the same were exhibited by Mr.

Gaspar Cusachs; a copy of the "Telegraphe" published in English and French, dated November 9th, 1805, and a commission issued by Gov. Claiborne, Sept. 26th, 1805; by Judge Seymour. Mrs. M. E. M. Davis, endorsed by Judge Howe; Mme. Elise May and Marguerite May Durieux, Dr. Rudolph Matas, Mr. William Agar, endorsed by Miss Grace King; Dr. Samuel Bachus, by Dr. Leon Cusachs; Messrs. Huddleston Kenner and E. T. Manning, by Judge Seymour, were elected members of the Society.

1899
JUNE 20TH, 1399.

The following, from the H. Sophie Newcomb Alumnae, was read: "Whereas, it has been proposed that the old Spanish Cabildo be utilized as a colonial museum, under the management of the Louisiana Historical Society; be it resolved, that the Newcomb Alumnae Association is in full sympathy with the movement, heartily endorses it and gives its entire co-operation to any action taken by the Louisiana Historical Society thereto." A committee was appointed to obtain during the summer, information about the formation of State museums; Mr. Gill, chairman.

Mr. James S. Zacharie read a paper, from which the following is taken:

THE CATHEDRAL ARCHIVES.

In a gloomy little room, with an old-fashioned iron-barred window on St. Anthony's alley, in New

Orleans, and adjoining the Roman Catholic Cathedral, is located the "Bureau des Archives" of the old parish church of St. Louis, now the cathedral of the archdiocese of New Orleans.

The first church building erected in Louisiana was on the site of the present cathedral, and for many years it was the only regular constituted parish in the colony, hence all the ecclesiastic acts were entered on its records, and thus form a part of the early history of Louisiana. Around the cathedral, or the old parochial church of St. Louis, cluster many historical events, and in its records are the births, marriages and burials of most of the important personages of our State, whose names are not only historical, but familiar in our own homes.

These cathedral archives consist of about 100 books, and are under the care of the obliging "archivist," Mr. Philip Meunier. Some are bound in the old-fashioned vellum, others in well-worn leather or in faded pasteboard, while the handwriting is clear, and nearly all these old books are in a good state of preservation. These records are kept first in French, and then in Spanish, then again in French, and finally English appears at intervals, thus showing the transition of the sovereignty of the country and forming an almost complete record from 1721 to the present day. They comprise books recording the marriages, baptisms, burials, expenses of the church, cost of

materials, repairs, charges of funerals, stipends of the priests, \$30 for powder to fire minute guns at a priest's funeral, and various items of interest. For instance, we find that the funeral charges of the church for a lady of quality in the early part of this century were \$60; and this sum was carefully pro rated among "La Fabrique" (the church), the clergy, the sacristan, the monacillos (altar boys), the bell ringer and cantors, who chanted the lugubrious responses of the burial services. The burials always state if the deceased died fortified with the sacraments of the holy church, and if not, the reason is given. In some books abjurations of heresy are minutely recorded, and the special heresy is noted with preciseness. The baptisms declare always the legitimacy of the baptized, with the full names, hour of birth and residence of the parents and full sponsors, and often the names of the grandparents. About thirty books record the baptisms of persons of color and slaves, giving the names of their owners and showing how well the priests looked after the salvation of these individuals, but the books of marriages are not so numerous, and one record book of colored marriages commences about 1767 and was used down to 1834.

The earliest record is of 1721, three years after the foundation of the City of New Orleans, and reads in French: "Extracts of the register of the mortuary records of the employees of the concession Ste. Reine, at Chapitula, in the year 1721."

"The 2d day of August, died Thomas Le Berghers, son of ———, aged about thirty-three years, native of Mans, in Hayman, diocese of Cambray; married to Louison Henry, native of Port Louis."

The first birth recorded happens to be that of Gov. Perrier's child, and reads: "In the year 1731, the 1st of January, at a quarter past 12 o'clock at night, Catherine de Perrier was born, legitimate child of Monsieur Perrier Denier, chevalier of the military order of St. Louis, captain of frigate and commander of the province of Louisiana, and Dame Catherine Le Chibilier, her father and mother; and was baptized the same hour. The godfather was Mr. Guillaume Nicholas Lange, who has signed these presents on the day and year above mentioned.

"G. RAPHAEL, Spanish Priest.

"LANGE."

The first marriage recorded was Feb. 1, 1776, of Manuel Vincenzo Cuvilla and Laura Manella Mesengra, by the Rev. Francisco de Caldos.

The Church of St. Louis was twice destroyed, once by a hurricane and once by fire, so that many record books are missing. In this way the burial register of 1769 is wanting, which is unfortunate, as it would, without doubt, record the burial of those victims of Spanish vengeance, the patriots, Laférnière, Noyan, Villeré and others, and would, without doubt, give some account of their last moments and of the place where they were executed.

These old priests, Father Dagobert, Père Antoine de Sedella, Père Moni, names that are venerated almost like those of saints, have faithfully recorded the family events of generations of Creoles, and at the same time have registered the various transfers of the colony with historical exactness. Thus, Père Dagobert records the Spaniards taking possession of Louisiana.

"Las tropas Españolas entraron para tomar posesion de esta ciudad y de toda la provincia el dia 10 de Agosto, del ano 1769."

(The Spanish troops entered to take possession of this city and of all the province, the 10th day of August, 1769).

Later Père Antoine de Sedella records the transfer by Spain to France in these words:

"Hoy treinta de Noviembre de ese año de mil ochocientos y tres, dia del Apostolo San Andres, a las doce el Sr. Ciudadano Don Clemente Laussat, prefecto colonial, autorisado por el primero consul de la republica Francesca, Don Napoleon Bonaparte, en nombre de ella, tomo posesion de esta provincia de la Luisiana recevendola de manos de los señores comisaros, Don Manuel Salcedo Governador de ella y Don Sebastian Calvo, Marques de Casa Calvo, ambos brigadieres de los Reales exercitos de S. M. C. con la solemnidad y ceremonias, que en semejantes casos se practican."

(To-day, the 30th of November of this year, 1803, the feast day of the apostle St. Andrew, at

12 M., Citizen Don Clemente Laussat, colonial prefect, authorized by the first consul of the French Republic, Don Napoleon Bonaparte, in its name, took possession of this province of Louisiana, receiving it from the hands of the commissioners, Don Manuel Salcedo, its Governor, and Don Sebastian Calvo, marquis of Casa Calvo, both brigadiers of the royal armies of his Catholic Majesty, with the solemnity and ceremonies that are observed in similar cases).

Later on the same venerable and most beloved Père Antoine, of pious memory, records the delivery of Louisiana to the United States:

"Dia veinte de este presente mes de Diciembre de mil ochocientos y tres, a las dos de la tarde, los Sres. Comisarios Americanos Don Guillermo Claiborne y Don Guillermo Wilkinson en nombre del congreso de los Estados Unidos de America, tomaron posesion de esta provincia de la Luisiana, recebendo la de manos del Sr. Don Pedro Clemente Laussat, prefecto colonial, representante de la republica Francesca, con la solemnidad y aparato militar que en semejante casos se acostumbre, lo que anoto para que serva de epoca a la posteridad."

(Twentieth day of the present month of December, 1803, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the American commissioner, Don Guillermo Claiborne and Don Guillermo Wilkinson, in the name of the Congress of the United States of America, took possession of this province of Louisiana, receiving

it from the hands of Don Pedro Clemente Laussat, colonial prefect and representative of the French republic, with the solemnity and military forms that are usual in similar cases, of which I make a note that it may serve as a record for posterity.)

The "aparato militar" of Don Guillermo Wilkinson evidently made an impression on old Père Antoine, also both commissioners were not "brigadiers" of the army, but what is remarkable in these records cited, is all three records state all the province of Louisiana was transferred as it existed and made no exceptions or limitations.

Professor Fortier read the following account of Col. Francisco Bouligny, drawn from letters and documents lent him by Mrs. Albert Baldwin, a descendant of that officer.

The Bouligny family was originally from Milan, and the name was Bolognini or Boloigniny. The founder of the family seems to have been Mateo Attendolo Bolognini, first Count of Bolognini, who married in Milan Ysabel Urcelli. One of his descendants in the fifth generation, Geronimo, married Ysabel Visconti of the ducal house of Milan, and Maximiliano, in the eighth generation married Julia Visconti.

In the tenth generation, Francisco Bolognini was captain of cavalry in the service of Spain, and was made prisoner by the French and taken to Marseilles, where he changed his name to Bouligny. He married Cecilia Germain in 1649, and adopted

a commercial career. Francisco Boulogny was the father of Josef, who married in 1689 Agnes Larchier, and was the father of Juan, who was born at Marseilles on Oct. 28, 1696.

After the war of the Spanish succession, Josef Boulogny settled in Alicante, Spain, and died in 1734. His only son, Juan, of the twelfth generation, married Maria Pared, at Marseilles, in 1724. Juan Boulogny seems to have been a man of considerable influence. His letters to his son Francisco are very interesting, and he refers to Gen. O'Reilly as if he knew him intimately in Spain. Juan died in 1772. He had five sons and six daughters. The oldest son was Josef, who was a wealthy merchant at Alicante. The second son, Juan, was Spanish ambassador at Constantinople, and died at Madrid in 1798, honorary councilor of State. One of his sons, Josef, was ambassador plenipotentiary of Spain at Stockholm. The third son of Juan Boulogny and Maria Pared, Francisco, is the subject of this sketch. The fourth and fifth sons, Louis and Lorenzo, were captains in the Spanish army.

The Boulognys of Spain occupied high positions, and were connected by marriage with the noblest families of Spain. There are extant charming letters written to Francisco Boulogny of New Orleans by his four brothers, the merchant, the ambassador, and the two captains.

Juan Boulogny, father of Col. Francisco, wrote a genealogy of his family, and after referring to

their escutcheon, he says: "The principal nobility is to be "hombre de bien," of deeds without reproach, to live in the fear of God in obeying His commands."

The following letters from Juan Bouligny are interesting, and give a high opinion of his character. The original letters are in French:

"Alicante, Oct. 21, 1769.

"I have received in due time, my very dear son, your letter of July 8, with great satisfaction to know that you are in good health. I pray to God that He should preserve it for you to serve Him well. You inform me of your departure for New Orleans, and that your brothers will let me know what you will communicate to them. Mr. O'Reilly, to whom I recommended you, offered me to do for you all that would depend upon him. Apply yourself to your duty well, for God is the true patron of honest people. I am your dear father, who always thinks of you in his feeble prayers that God may keep you in His holy grace.

"JEAN BOULIGNY."

"Alicante, June 12, 1770.

"My Very Dear Son—Your letter, which I received on May 26, without date, informs me of your marriage with Miss Louise d'Auberville, daughter of the French Intendent General of that province, aged twenty years, well bred and of infinite merit, which I approve in wishing you all kinds of happiness and benediction in your new

condition. May God have you in His holy protection for many years in good health and good union, and grant you what you may need. Give her a kiss for me, as I cannot do so personally on account of the distance. Receive the benediction † of your father.

“JEAN BOULIGNY.”

Letter of Juan Bouligny, the ambassador, written in Spanish:

“Dear Brother Frasquito—Having heard of the appointment of Señor Don Luis de las Casas as Governor of Havana and Captain General of Cuba, the Floridas and Louisiana, and as I have had the honor of knowing that gentleman, and his brother, Don Simon de las Casas, ambassador for his Majesty at Venice, favors me with his friendship, it has enabled me to congratulate this day the said Señor Don Luis and to recommend you to his kindness. I communicate this to you, hoping that he will favor you in all that will depend upon him. May the Lord give you infinite years of life, as I desire.

“Constantinople, Feb. 1, 1790.

“Your affectionate brother.

“JUAN BOULIGNY.

“To my dear brother, Don Francisco Bouligny.”

Francisco Bouligny was borne at Alicante in 1736, and came to Louisiana as aide-de-camp of Gen. O'Reilly in 1769. In 1770 he married Marie Louise le Sénéchal d'Auberville, daughter of Vin-

cent Guillaume le Sénéchal d'Auberville, marine commissioner of Louisiana, and of Françoise Petit de Levilliers de Coulange.

The Sieur d'Auberville was born at Brest in 1713. His father was Louis d'Auberville and his mother Marie d'Aimé or d'Aymé de Noailles. Among the papers of the Bouligny family are documents proving that the Sieur de Noailles d'Aimé, referred to by Gayarré in his history of Louisiana, as having been vanquished by the Chickasaws, was Louis d'Aimé de Noailles, "capitaine de Vaisseaux du Roy, chevalier de l'ordre Royal et Militaire de St. Louis," who died at Brest in 1756. He was the brother of Marie d'Aimé de Noailles, and the uncle of the "Commissaire ordonnateur de la marine," d'Auberville.

The marriage contract of the Sieur d'Auberville and of Marie Françoise de Coulange is very interesting, and is signed by Gov. Vaudreuil, the "Grand Marquis."

The genealogy of the family Petit de Levilliers de Coulange goes back to the reign of Louis XI to Etienne Petit, "grand audiencier de France." Claude de Coulange, "seigneur de Bustance en Auvergne," married Madeleine d'Aguesseau, to which family belonged the great Chancellor d'Aguesseau. The mother of the celebrated Madame de Sevigné was Marie de Coulange, who was of the same family as the mother of Francisco Bouligny's wife. After the death of the Sieur d'Auberville in 1758

his widow married the Chevalier Pierre Gérard de Vilemont.

In 1795 Francisco Bouligny solicited the rank of Brigadier, and his services were enumerated. He entered the Spanish army in 1758 as cadet in the infantry regiment of Zamora, and served two years; then one year and nine months in the Royal Guards. In 1762 he was sent to Havana, where he remained seven years, serving as lieutenant. On Nov. 1 he received the rank of "Ayudante Mayor" in the regiment of Louisiana. He became "Coronel vivo" in 1791, and was named "Brigadier" in 1800, the year of his death. He served with distinction in the surprise of Fort Bute and the capture of Baton Rouge in 1779, at the siege of Mobile in 1780, at the siege of Pensacola in 1781. During the latter expedition he took the fort by storm at the head of his company, and was rewarded specially by the King. In 1784 he acted as Governor of Louisiana during the absence from the province of Gov. Miro, and in 1799, "on the sudden death of Gov. Gayoso de Lemos," says Gayarré, "Don Francisco Bouligny, who was the Colonel of the regiment of Louisiana, assumed the military administration of the colony, and the auditor, Don Jose Maria Vidal, the civil and political government."

The following letter from O'Reilly to Mrs. Francisco Bouligny is very interesting:

"Madame—Votre bonheur m'interessera toujours, et je vous en donnerai avec plaisir toutes les preuves qui en dependront de moi.

"Je vous felicite sur votre mariage. Votre epoux est un digne officier, dont je fais beaucoup de cas; j'espere que vous serez heureux ensemble; et c'est cette persuasion qui m'a fait souhaiter votre union.

"J'ai l'honneur d'etre tres respectueusement, madame, votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur.
O'REILLY."

In a letter written to Francisco Boulogny on July 24, 1776, by "El Conde de O'Reilly," the latter officer offers his services to his former "Ayudante."

Among the papers of the Boulogny family there are twenty-seven letters written by the Baron de Carondelet to Col. Francisco Boulogny. In a letter dated New Orleans, Feb. 1, 1794, the Baron says:

"He tenido cartas de los agentes del Rey en Filadelfia dicen que Mr. Genet a perdido enteramente su concepto y credito de suerte que no se cree que puedo continuar en su comision; siete fragatas inglesas y un navio de 50 estan destinados para proteger el comercio sobre las costas de los Estados Unidos."

The following letter shows us the baron as a convivial and pleasant gentleman:

"oy, 19 Feb.

"Mi Estimado Coronel—Remito a Vm la circular de que hablamos ayer, deseando que meresca su aprobacion. Tengo presente que Mme. Boulogni me dijo ayer que me esperaba para el Domingo a

comer. Si es convite de complimento ella permitira que me excuse, si no lo es mas que de amistad y en familia, lo admito muy gustoso; con que si Vms quieren que en los dias que tengo mas libres yo pueda tomar un rato de disipacion pasando a comer a su casa, ha de ser con la condicion que no se hara conmigo extraordinario alguno, pues que lo que busco es la sociedad de Vms y de modo alguno los deleites de la mesa que tenido siempre a sugesion.

“Procure Vm. remitirme las ojas de servicio y dispongan Vms do su mas at^o ap^o serv^{or}.

“Q. S. M. B.

“EL BARON DE CARONDELET.

“Sr. Don Franco. Bouligny.”

On June 22, 1802, Gov. Manuel de Salcedo wrote to Mrs. Francisco Bouligny advising her that he had received orders to transmit to Col. Bouligny's heirs his commission as Brigadier, although the latter had died before the commission had reached him.

In 1776 Don Francisco Bouligny transmitted to the Spanish government a very long and important report concerning the province of Louisiana. I hope that I shall be able to translate this report and to publish it in part or in whole in transactions of the Louisiana Historical Society.

Col. Francisco Bouligny and his wife, Marie Louise le Sénéchal d'Auberville, had four children: Marie Louise Josephine, who married the Chevalier de la Roche: Dominique Charles, Francois Ursin and Louis.

Dominique Bouigny held important political positions, and one of his nephews, J. Edward Bouigny, was a member of Congress from Louisiana in 1861.

Dominique Bouigny, son of Col. Francisco, was the father of Gustave Bouigny. The latter married Miss Octavie Fortier, daughter of the well-known sugar planter, Edmond Fortier and granddaughter of Col. Michel Fortier, who was an officer in the regiment of Col. Francisco Bouigny. The papers of the Bouigny family are in the possession of a daughter of Gustave Bouigny, Mrs. Albert Baldwin, a member of the Louisiana Historical Society who has kindly placed them at my disposal.

Francisco Bouigny played an important part in the colonial history of Louisiana, and it is well to recall the name of a man who was a valiant soldier, and, what is better, in the words of his father, old Juan Bouigny, an "hombre de bien."

ALCÉE FORTIER.

After reading his paper, President Fortier exhibited the numerous interesting documents from which he had drawn his information. Among these papers were the signatures of Louis XV of France and of the two Charles who ruled in Spain when Louisiana belonged to that country. These documents were as follows:

Documents:

1. Genealogy of the Bouigny family.

2. Three letters of Juan Bouligny, father of Francisco Bouligny.

3. A letter of Juan Bouligny, ambassador at Constantinople, and brother of Francisco Bouligny.

4. Certified copy of commission as "commis-saire ordinaire de la marine" of the Sieur d'Auberville, father of Mrs. Francisco Bouligny.

5. Inventory of estate of Marie d'Aymé de Noailles, grandmother of the Sieur d'Auberville, dated Brest, March 1, 1710.

6. Act of sale of a house of Louis d'Aymé de Noailles, "captaine de vaisseaux du Roi," dated Brest, 1756.

7. Genealogy of the family Petit de Levillier de Coulange.

8. Contract of marriage of the Sieur d'Auberville and of Francoise Petit de Coulange, dated New Orleans, March 15, 1749.

9. Certificate of baptism of Marie Louise d'Auberville, dated Aug. 22, 1750, and signed by Frère Dagobert.

10. Leave of absence granted the Sieur d'Auberville, dated at the Louvre, June 1, 1720, and signed by the Maréchal d'Estrées and the Count of Toulouse, son of Louis XIV, and of Mme. de Montespan.

11. Certificate signed by Father Antonio de Sedella.

12. Two commissions of the Sieur d'Auberville, dated Versailles, 1747, and signed by Louis

XV and the Duke of Penthievre, son of the Count of Toulouse.

13. Certificate signed by Father Dagobert in 1771, stating that since the death of her husband Mme. de Vilemont has remained a widow.

14. Ten commissions of Francisco Bouigny, signed by Charles III.

15. Two commissions of Francisco Bouigny, signed by Charles IV.

16. Statement of services of Francisco Bouigny.

17. Two letters of Gen. O'Reilly.

18. Twenty-seven letters of Gov. Carondelet.

19. A letter of Gov. Salcedo.

20. A letter of the Countess de Galvez.

21. A voluminous report of Francisco Bouigny to the Spanish court of the condition of Louisiana, dated New Orleans, August, 1776.

Mr. Gaspard Cusachs exhibited the photographs of M. and Mme. de Pontalba and their two sons, with a sketch of the Cathedral by M. Alphonse de Pontalba, made in 1848.

Upon question of the advisability of the Society's aiding Prof. Beyer to carry on his investigation of the Louisiana mounds, it was moved and unanimously carried that a sum be contributed by the Society for this purpose.

Mrs. Mary Ashley Townsend, Mr. Morgan Whitney, endorsed by Miss Grace King; and Mr. Couret, endorsed by Mr. Gaspard Cusachs, were elected members of the Society.

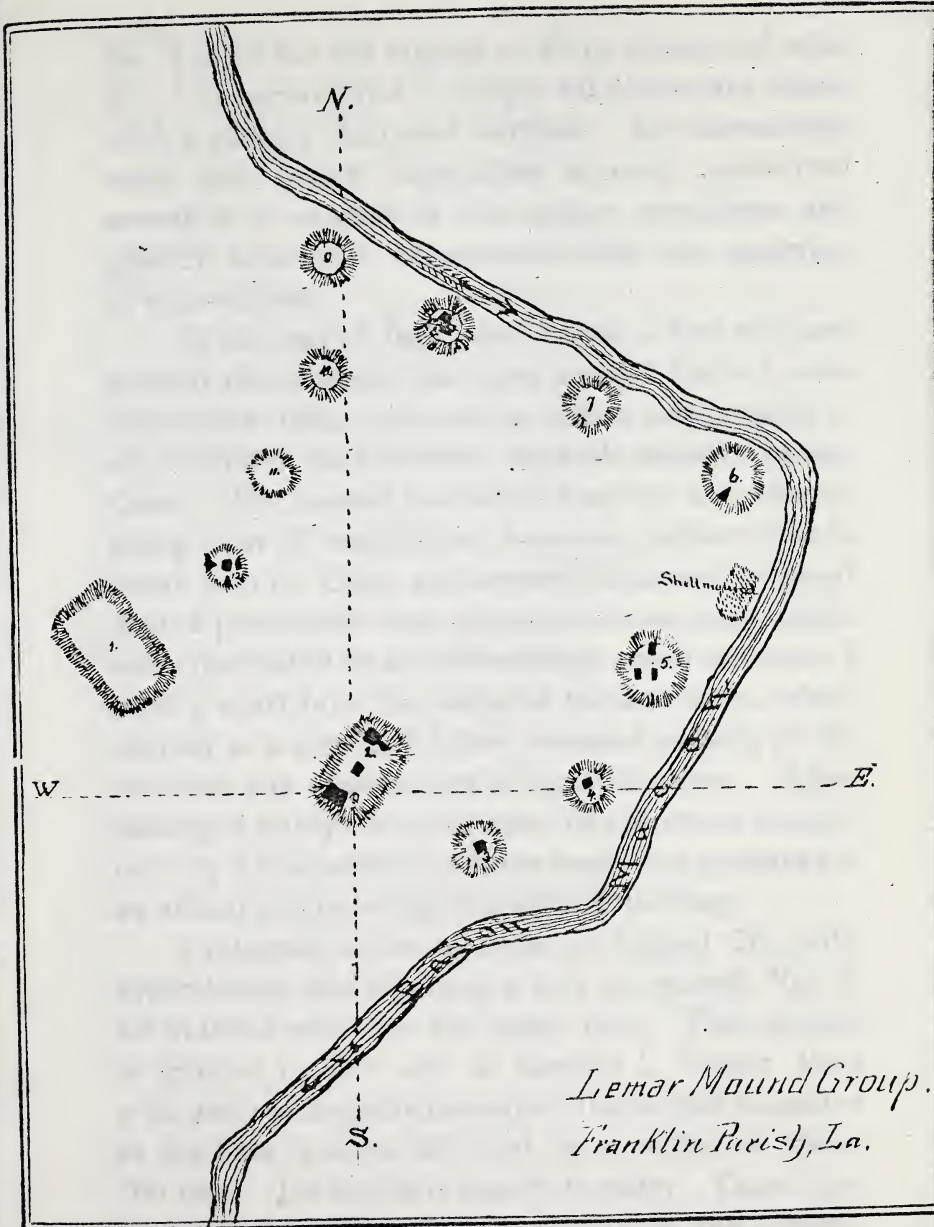
OCTOBER 24TH, 1899.

President Fortier presented to the Society, from the author, a history of the part taken in his youth by Admiral Bougainville in the French and Indian war, lately written by one of his descendants, M. R. de Kerallain, of Quimper, France. Mr. H. F. Baldwin presented to the Society the type-written copy of an old newspaper, "Telegraphe," published in New Orleans in 1804, and containing the first Fourth of July oration, delivered by Pierre Derbigny. A letter was read asking for information about the Courtney family and its genealogy in Louisiana. The paper of the evening was the report of Prof. Beyer, on the mounds of Franklin parish, which he had investigated during the summer. Although he had worked for six weeks, in a temperature of 102 in the shade, he had met with little success, finding only in one mound (No. 8) a skeleton and some pottery. He had concluded that it would be useless to continue the investigation of the mounds of Northern Louisiana, the origin of which he attributed to a comparatively recent period, and which he believed were the work of the North American Indians. He recommended, therefore, that further investigations of the mounds should be directed to those of Lower Catahoula, Natchitoches and Grant Parishes, where the first and most important results had already been obtained. Prof. Beyer's report is as follows:

MOUND INVESTIGATIONS AT LEMAR, LA.

PROF. GEO. E. BEYER, TULANE UNIVERSITY
OF LOUISIANA.

Long intended investigations of the fairly famous Mound group near Lemar in the northern part of Franklin Parish, this State, were at last accomplished this year. The now fairly isolated location of the mounds not only required two separate expeditions but also the establishment of a regular camp for several days, August 2, 3, 4 and 5, on one of the mounds. The mound group is situated within a quarter of a mile of Bayou Macon, and also on the point of a nearly rectangular bend of the river, extending about 600 or 700 yards on either arm of the angle. The lands on which the group is located, although given up to more or less neglect and abandonment at present and for several years past have been under cultivation for more than thirty or forty years, and the mounds have suffered considerably from being disturbed in many ways. Considering the size of the mounds, this group is certainly one of the largest as far as number is concerned, for while a settlement of so-called village mounds may possess more than fifty tumuli of various but smaller sizes, the number of twelve is rarely ever reached by mounds of the dimensions of those of Lemar. In arrangement they are disposed of almost in a perfect quadrangle with the exception of Nos. 1 and 9, (see chart) which are just outside of the lines.



No. 1 is by far the largest of all of them, and with No. 2, is rectangular in shape, all others are round with a greatly flattened surface. An exceedingly rank and heavy vegetation scarcely permitted ascent to a number of the larger structures and greatly interfered afterwards with the progress of excavations.

At the end of July, last, I took a few men and located the mounds, but upon arrival there I soon discovered that, in order to obtain any results at all, it would take several days of work to obtain them. The mound numbered four on the charts, being clear of vegetation, however, induced me to break into it. Upon and around the mound a great deal of pot-cherts were scattered about, some plain, some decorated in an exceedingly crude manner; I sank a shaft into the center of the structure, which carried to a depth of 5 feet revealed nothing at all, not even any remote sign of stratification. After making a hasty survey of some of the other mounds near by I concluded to return home and prepare for an actual camp during the week following.

I returned to the mounds on August 2d, with several men, and pitching a tent on mound No. 2. we started work on the same day. This mound is inferior in size only to number 1, longer than wide and rectangular in shape. Its longest diameter at the base is about 250 feet by a width of about 100 feet. Its length is nearly twenty. Years ago its surface had been under cultivation, the plough-

furrows being still plainly visible. Heavy trees, some dead and some yet thriving had spread their roots in nearly every direction and caused no end of trouble during our excavations.

I started a trench from the southwest side commencing at the base, and proceeded toward the centre. There were, however, no signs of anything in the structure; one fact became evident here, as well, the absence of stratification. The mound seemed to consist of but one kind of material, and during all the work which was faithfully carried on for nearly two days on this mound, but two or three small pieces of plain pottery were brought to light. Considerably discouraged, we examined two or three others with just the same results until we struck mound No. 8 on the chart. It was one of the four mounds facing north, immediately on the river-bank; in fact, these four structures were so close to the river as to form almost part of the bank itself. From the summits of the mounds on that side at the time to the level of the water was at least forty feet, forming an almost perpendicular wall, while the length of that toward the land did not exceed fifteen feet. In diameter all were all alike, being about 175 feet at the base.

Upon closer examination I found a trench running almost through the center of mound 8, which, however, as I ascertained later on, had been cut by some parties in quest of Macon's buried treasures.

In this case it was again demonstrated how this senseless and stupid superstition had interfered with the interests of Archaeology, for, of all the mounds in the group, this one appeared to have been and is the only one in which deposits of any kind had been made. Upon cutting into the side of the trench next to the river, broken pieces of pottery were found at a depth of about two feet from the surface. The tracings made into the clay were of an exceedingly rough character and the same may be said of the material of the pottery itself. After cutting nearly through to the edge of the mound, another section commencing at the old trench was made and this section revealed, at about the same depth, the skeleton of an adult, of which, however, the skull and the right arm and shoulder were missing; these, doubtlessly, had been dug up and lost by the former fortune hunters, in fact, I suppose, they had at the time, also found the pottery and other relics intact, but had destroyed them.

The mound itself on that side was of a perfectly homogeneous material and no signs of shells were found in it; this latter point, however, seems to me perfectly well accounted for by the later established presence of a large mussel-shell deposit between mounds 5 and 6. This refuse heap covered about thirty square feet, and in some places was fully three feet thick. Upon examination it revealed numerous pieces of broken pottery; some vessels had evidently been of large size but made of very

coarse clay. Besides the pottery, remains of deer were found in several places. Otherwise, however, no further signs of human relics were discovered.

Mound No. 5 was next looked into, but even here fortune-hunters had forestalled us, for upon the northwest side we found an old shaft about four feet wide and six or eight feet deep. Besides sinking a central shaft to the depth of eight feet, I examined the structure in other directions without being in the least successful, not even an occasional piece of pot would relieve the monotony of the work. After measuring mound No. 1, which, certainly is one of the largest structures of the kind in the State, and possesses on top a surface area of 38,340 square feet, and which on account of the excessively heavy vegetation upon it is almost inaccessible. I turned my attention to No. 12. This mound was comparatively clear, circular in shape with a base diameter of about 180 feet, and at present a height of $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Upon and around it I found quantities of broken pottery as well as quite a number of arrow points. A central shaft was sunken and gradually widened out. The material was the same as in the other mounds. In order to fully satisfy myself that there was nothing concealed in this structure, I caused the shaft to be deepened over two feet below the level of the ground and afterwards examined the mound in various directions, but nearer the edges, without,

however, discovering any traces of bones, pottery or implements.

The results of the examination of these mounds strengthened me again in the assumption taken two and three years ago, that they are neither in point of structure nor origin, the same as those along the coastlines and alluvial districts of lower Louisiana, and that if we speak of Indian mounds, they are much more justly entitled to that term than the latter.

It is, however, exceedingly difficult to describe exactly the difference between the two, but to one who is familiar with these structures it is apparent at once, whether he is examining a mound of an almost recent origin or of an ancient date.

Professor H. E. Chambers gave an interesting account of a visit made by him to Natchitoches and to Marksville in Avoyelles Parish. In that parish he had found a line of mounds, twelve in number, at intervals of about a mile extending due North and South. Prof. Chambers described an embankment that seemed to him of unusual character; bow shaped, about a mile long, and terminating in a series of small circular closely connected mounds; the line of earth works quite symmetrical, rounded on the outer face and sloping on the inner; the whole covered by a dense forest growth. Local tradition attributes the work to De Soto and his men.

In the vicinity of Marksville Prof. Chambers found a group of Indians leading an agricultural life and still maintaining a tribal organization. They prove to be Tunicas ("Tan'ee ka," as they pronounce it). In the middle of Natchitoches' oldest cemetery, Prof. Chambers was shown a small remnant of wall, supposed to be a part of the Fort erected by St. Denis. Three miles from Natchitoches is Fort Salubrity, where U. S. Grant, just from West Point, spent some months; two miles further on is a stone fortification, upon a high hill commanding what must have been two streams. No tradition accounts for it; locally it is known as "Fort Seldon" or "Fort Seldom." Prof. Chambers thinks it is of French, colonial origin, probably a post built for protection of the French of Natchitoches against Spanish Texas claims.

NOVEMBER 15TH, 1899.

Miss Grace King read a sketch on the Chateau de Ramezay, the historical museum of Montreal. a paper loaned her by the author, W. D. Lighthall, Esq., of Montreal. The paper gave the history of the Chateau de Ramezay, and described the way and means by which, from an old neglected building, threatened with demolition, it had been elevated to its present position of usefulness and honor, not only to the city of Montreal, but to the whole province of Canada. Miss King gave an account of her visit to the Chateau during the summer, and enumerated the pictures and relics she had found there

intimately connected with the history of Louisiana. The discussion of the paper brought forth a proposition, that, as an experimental step towards the establishment of a permanent museum in the city, a loan exhibit should be held by the Society at some time before Mardi-Gras. A resolution to this effect was made by Mr. Zacharie and unanimously passed by the Society. A committee on ways and means of holding this exhibit being asked for, the President named the following members; Mr. Zacharie, Miss King, Dr. Devron, Mr. Cusachs and Mr. Charles Soniat.

Dr. Devron presented to the Society a photograph of the picture and the monograph of the life of the celebrated Abbe Francois Viel, born in New Orleans in 1736; one of the most distinguished Latin scholars of France during the past century, whose history has been involved in much obscurity. Dr. Devron's pamphlet is the first authentic publication on the subject. He also presented to the Society his publication of a hitherto unprinted Memoir on Louisiana; the Memoir of Francois Lemaire; described in its original title as: "Extrait d'un Mémoire sur la Louisiane pour être présenté avec la carte de ce pays au Conseil Souverain de la Marine. Par François Le Maire, Missionnaire apostolique de la Maison et Seminaire des Missions Etrangères de Paris, daté du Fort Louis de la Louisiane, 7 mars, 1717." Pierre Margry, in his "Documents pour servir à l'Histoire des

Origines françaises d'Outremer," etc., has published an extract from a memoir of Lemaire, dated 15 January, 1714; and Faribault's Catalogue of works on American history (Quebec, 1837) gives the title of the Ms., but dates it May 27, 1717. Dr. Devron stated that he had never been able to procure the map which should accompany the Ms.; but that he had in his possession two copies of a map by G. de l'Isle; one published by the author in large size on stiff paper, the other published in small size on thin paper, by Jean Frederic Bernard, to illustrate the voyages of Hennepin. The title of this map is as follows: "Carte de la Louisiane et du cours du Mississippi, Dressé sur un grand nombre de Memoires entre autres sur ceux de Mr. Le Maire, par Guillaume Del'Isle, de l'Academie Royale des Sciences." The date of these maps is 1720.

The Doctor concluded by exhibiting a number of the Records of the American Catholic Historical Society (Philadelphia), containing two letters relating to the early history of Louisiana. They are dated: "de mon habitation proche de la Nouvelle Orleans," but are unsigned. One is of October 28, 1751; the other, December 10, 1751.

The first relates only historical events already known, but the second gives new and interesting details about the arrival of the first women and the first negro slaves in the colony. It is also accompanied with a list of all the officers of the colony,

from its foundation to 1753. The Magazine contained also two new maps of early New Orleans. Judge Seymour exhibited to the Society one of the last rent receipts signed by John Mc. Donogh, a paper signed by Pere Antoine, and an autograph letter of Admiral Farragut, all of which he promised to present to the Society at some future day. Prof. E. L. Stephens and Mr. J. Zach. Spearing, endorsed by Mr. Favrot, were elected members of the Society.

DECEMBER 19TH, 1899.

Mr. Zacharie, the Chairman of Committee on a Colonial Exposition, made a full report, and submitted the following resolutions: "Whereas, an historical exposition will tend to interest the public in the preservation of historic buildings, monuments and relics relating to the history of Louisiana: be it resolved, That the Historical Society shall hold an Historical Exposition in the Fisk Library Annex, with permission of the Library Board, commencing Tuesday, February 20th, 1900, and ending March 3d, 1900.

That a committee of ten be appointed by the President to take charge and manage the said exposition, to open it with appropriate ceremonies, and to solicit in the name of the Society, loan or gift of relics, portraits, statuary, arms, documents and other objects relating to the history of Louisiana, and to the historic families in the State: That no admission fee shall be charged, and that

the expenses shall be defrayed by the Society: That the press of the State be requested to give publicity to the holding of this exposition, recommending our citizens to aid it by the loan or gift of relics, and thus form the nucleus of a future State museum."

The resolutions were unanimously adopted, and the President named on the committee asked for: Mr. James Zacharie, Miss Grace King, Dr. Devron, Mr. C. T. Soniat, Mr. Gaspard Cusachs, Mrs. F. D. Blake, Mrs. M. E. M. Davis, Col. J. D. Hill, Mr. H. L. Favrot; Prof. J. R. Ficklen; President Fortier, ex-officio.

The paper of the evening was furnished by Henry Renshaw, Esq.

"A sketch of the life and career of Pierre Soulé;" a valuable contribution to the written history of the political part of the State.

Pierre Soulé was born at Castillon, department of Arriege, in the South of France, in 1802. His father was a justice of the peace, who had been a soldier in the armies of Napoleon. Young Soule was intended for the church, but his predilections were not in that direction, and he was therefore, sent to the college at Bordeaux. While a student there he was implicated in a plot against the government and had to flee. He sought refuge in a village of Navarre, and in order to facilitate his incognito, became a shepherd.

After a few years he was pardoned and came to Paris, but soon proved obnoxious to the authorities through his active connection with a newspaper inimical to the government, and he emigrated to this country. He first settled at Bardstown, Ky., in 1825, and the following year came to New Orleans, and was admitted to the bar.

His great abilities were not long in attracting public attention, and in 1847 he was sent to the United States Senate. His first speech was delivered in February, 1847.

In March he returned to New Orleans and was tendered a magnificent reception and public banquet. He again went to the Senate, in 1849, for a term of six years. In 1850, he made his famous speech in opposition to Clay's compromise bill on the slavery question. Mr. Soule took the ground that the proposed compromise was unilateral, and should not be accepted because it would be humiliating to the South.

In 1853, Mr. Soule was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Spain. He remained only one year and a half in that post. He resigned mainly on account of the enmity shown him by the court party, jealous of his independent and straightforward conduct of the affairs of his government with the Spanish kingdom. During his stay at Madrid occurred the incident, at a ball given by M. Turgot, the French minister, which led to a duel between Neville

Soulé, son of the American minister, and the duke of Alba; because the duke had passed some remark about Mrs. Pierre Soulé. Minister Turgot was challenged to a duel by Pierre Soulé because the insult had been offered under his roof, although M. Turgot was ignorant of the incident, and had had no connection with it.

It was during Mr. Soulé's sojourn at the court of Spain that there took place the conference touching the purchase of the island of Cuba by the United States from the Spanish government. The negotiations fell through, and Mr. Soulé, disgusted at the hesitations, not only of the Spanish government, but also at the delays of his own government, resigned in December, 1854.

On his return to New Orleans, Mr. Soulé resumed the practice of law, and became the foremost member of the bar. In 1862, when the city was taken by the federals, and Farragut's fleet was anchored opposite New Orleans, Mr. Soulé proved of great aid and comfort to the mayor and people by his fearless and patriotic attitude. He was arrested by order of General Butler and sent to prison in the north, but was soon released by President Lincoln.

Mr. Renshaw next reviewed the forensic career of Mr. Soulé, and cited incidents at which he was present, and was fortunate in seeing and hearing the eminent lawyer. He described Mr. Soulé as of medium height, with a swarthy complexion, in-

tensely black eyes, which gleamed with expressiveness when he spoke; and having a perfectly modulated voice, whose charm was enhanced by a slight foreign accent.

About the year 1868 Mr. Soulé's magnificent intellect began to give signs of failing, and one year later he was declared an interdict. He died March 26, 1870.

In the discussion that followed, many interesting memories of the noted Frenchman and distinguished adopted son of Louisiana were recalled; among others, his appearance and plea in the case of the famous "Nicaragua" Walker, tried in the U. S. Court, in this city.

In an old scrap book owned by Mr. Gaspard Cusachs, clippings were read from the "Charleston Courier" of February 6th and June 7th, 1767, in which mention was made of the attitude of the Louisianians against the private cession of Louisiana by France to Spain. Mr. Hughes de La Vergne, endorsed by Prof Fortier, was elected a member of the Society.

JANUARY 17TH, 1900.

The proposed Historical Exhibition, to take place in February, was discussed in detail. Mr. Favrot, chairman of the committee in charge, reported that the offer of the ladies' reading room in the Fisk Free Library, as a place to hold the exhibit, had been accepted; also that a sub-committee composed of himself, Miss Grace King and Mr.

Cusachs, had been selected to look after the placing of the exhibits, etc. Two hundred dollars were appropriated to pay incidental expenses. Dr. Le Beuf moved a resolution which was carried by the Society that the removal of Clay's statue from its place on Canal St., was viewed with regret as the displacement of an old and cherished landmark of the past history of the city. Mr. Zacharie read a paper on "New Orleans, Its Old Streets and Places" (printed in full in this number). Miss Amelie Denegre, Col. T. L. Macon, endorsed by Miss Grace King; Mrs. D. A. S. Vaught, by Mr. Gill; Messrs. Chas. Favrot, Hart Newman, Edw. Pier-son, Thos. Mc. C. Hyman, L. A. Livaudais, Wm. L. Hawes, endorsed by Mr. Favrot, were elected members of the Society.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

Agar, Wm	1755 Prytania
Baker, Page M.....	320 Camp
Baldwin, A., Jr.....	130 Camp
Baldwin, Mrs. A	1707 Esplanade
Baldwin, H. F.....	130 Camp
Baldwin, Mrs. H. F.....	1707 Esplanade
Beer, Wm.....	610 Camp
Beyer, Prof. Geo. E.....	Tulane University
Backus, Dr. S, H	802 St. Charles
Blake, Mr. F. P	2231 Prytania
Breaux, Gus. A.....	823 Union
Browne, R. H	531 Natchez
Bruen, B.....	919 Hennen Building
Bush, Louis.....	1505 Josephine
Carroll, Mother Austin—Honorary Member	
Chambers, Prof. H. E.....	1505 Arabella

Claiborne, C. F.....	141 Carondelet
Cruzat, J. W.....	N. O. National Bank
Cusachs, Gaspar.....	524 Esplanade
Cusachs, P. L.....	840 Canal.
Couret, John.....	1453 N. Rampart
Davis, Mrs. M. E. M.....	406 Royal
Dart, Henry P.....	L. & L. & G. Building
Deiler, Prof. J. Hanno.....	Tulane University
Devron, Dr. G.....	3037 Royal
Denegre, Miss Amelie.....	133 University Place
Dixon, Prof. B. V. B.....	Sophie Newcomb College
Dymond, John.....	331 Carondelet
Durieux, Mrs. M.....	912 Orleans
De la Vergene, H. J.....	141 Carondelet
Farrar, E. H.....	801 Hennen Building
Farrar, Girault.....	711 Common
Favrot, H. L.....	413 Hennen Building
Favrot, Chas. A.....	219 Carondelet
Forman, B. R.....	126 Carondelet
Fortier, Prof. Alcée.....	Tulane University
Fortier, Mrs. L. A.....	North Rampart near Barracks
Flower, W. C.....	City Hall—Honorary Member
Fenner, C. E.....	127 Carondelet
Ficklen, Prof. J. R.....	Tulane University
Garland, H. L.....	518 Commercial Place
Gill, Chas. G.....	606 Common
Grima, Edgar.....	136 Carondelet
Graham, Lewis.....	207 Baronne
Hawkes, J. G.....	606 Common
Hawes, Wm. L.....	L. & L. & G. Building
Hart, W. O.....	134 Carondelet
Heller, Rev. Max.....	1828 Marengo
Hill, Col. J. D.....	510 Carondelet
Howe, W. W.....	501 Hennen Building
Hughes, W. L.....	413 Hennen Building
Hyman, Thos. McC.....	Clerk of Supreme Court
Irion, V. K.....	124 Baronne
Joubert, Leon.....	423 Carondelet
Johnston, Mrs. Wm. P.....	Louisiana Avenue
Kenner, Huddleston.....	320 Camp
Kelley, Robt. E.....	Custom House

King, Miss Grace.....	2221 Prytania
King, Miss A. R.....	2221 Prytania
King, Judge F. D.....	1212 Seventh Street
Kohn, Gustave	136 Carondelet
Lewis, Dr. E. S.....	124 Baronne
LeBeuf, Dr. S. G	124 Baronne
Livaudais, Alb	Canal Bank
Livaudais, L. A	219 Carondelet
Low, C. F	L. & L. & G. Building
Lyons, I. L.....	222 Camp
Lyons, Mrs. I. L.....	222 Camp
Macon, T. L	138 Carondelet
Manning, E. L	16 City Hall
Matas, Rudolph Dr	624 Gravier
May, Mrs. E	912 Orleans
Merrick, E. T	220 Carondelet
McConnell Jas. Jr.....	638 Commercial Place
McLoughlin, J. J.....	708 Union
Madison, Chas. T.....	125 Carondelet
Minor, Miss Kate.....	Southdown Plantation
Newman, Hart.....	St. Charles and Amelia
Owen, Thos. M.....	Secretary Ala. Hist. Society
Palmer, Rev. B. M.....	1718 Palmer Ave.(Hon'y Mem).
Pierson, Edward.....	337 St. Charles
Preot, Geo. C.....	916 Hennen Building
Quintero, L. C.....	814 Hennen Building
Renshaw, Henry.....	337 St. Charles
Richardson, Mrs. Ida.....	Prytania and Second
Rightor, Henry.....	818 Gravier
Sessums, Rt. Rev. Davis....	2919 St. Charles
Seymour, Wm. H.....	122 Exchange Place
Soniat, Chas. T.....	214 Hennen Building
Soniat, G. V.....	214 Hennen Building
Souchon, Dr. E.....	135 Baronne
Spearing, J. Zach.....	337 St. Charles
Stephens, E. L.....	1532 Calliope
Townsend, Mrs. M. A.....	3923 Carondelet
Thompson, Thos. P.....	210 Hennen Building
Titche, Bernard.....	326 Hennen Building
Tullis, R. L.....	219 Carondelet

Villars, L. R.....	214 Hennen Building
Villere Omer.....	Camp and Canal
Vaught, Mrs. D. A. S.....	
Von Phul Wm.....	3201 Chestnut
Waguespack, W. J.....	219 Carondelet
Waddill, Frank.....	337 St. Charles
Williams, Espy.....	720 Common
Whitney, Morgan.....	2233 St. Charles
Walmsley, R. M.....	La. National Bank
Young, Geo. W.....	221 Camp
Zacharie, James S.....	803 Common

NEW ORLEANS. — "ITS OLD STREETS AND PLACES."

*Address delivered by the Honorable James S.
Zacharie at the meeting of the Louisiana
Historical Society, held at Tulane Hall,
University Place, New Orleans, Wednesday,
January 17th, 1900.*

One hundred and eighty-two years ago, Bien-ville, near the site of a small Indian village called *Tchou-Tchouma*, founded our dear old City of New Orleans. During these one hundred and eighty-two years of its life, our city has grown from an important village of mud huts into a town of wood, and from that condition has developed into a large city of brick and stone, and become the metropolis of the South. It has been swept several times by violent hurricanes; twice nearly wiped out by raging fires; half drowned out by disastrous crevasses and dreadfully scourged by death-dealing epidemics of cholera and yellow fever. With all

these disasters, sufficient to retard the growth of any city, it still maintains its proud place as the greatest city of our southland, with a population of nearly 300,000. Its early and small trade of skins and furs taken in virgin forests has developed into a gigantic commerce of sugar, cotton and grain, which is annually poured into its lap through the great Mississippi Valley by twenty States of the Union. Its citizens have not lost heart and still believe in its future greatness, if with a modern system of sewerage and drainage they can keep out yellow fever and render it thoroughly healthy.

SITE OF NEW ORLEANS SELECTED.

In 1718 the Biloxi Bay settlement was the seat of the French Government of the colony of Louisiana, but as the surrounding country was a sterile soil and inhabited by hostile Indians and the harbor was too shallow for large ships, the French determined to select another site, and especially one farther inland and better protected from the English, who already were endeavoring to take possession of the country. The authorities in France favored the Bay of St. Bernard, now called Mortagorda Bay, in Texas, as the proper location; some of the colonists thought that Manchac, on the Mississippi River, 115 miles above the present city, should be chosen as Bayou Manchac, meaning an Indian *pass*, flowed at that time from the Mississippi River into Lake Maurepas, a point far inland, and Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain were too

shallow for large hostile ships. Other colonists considered that a site on St. Catherine's creek, near Natchez, was the best location, as it was on high land, above overflows, and the surrounding country was healthy. Bienville preferred the present site on the Mississippi, then called the Rivière St. Louis, 107 miles from its mouth on a strip of land four miles wide that extended from the river to Lake Pontchartrain, then known as Lake St. Louis, and intersected with small ridges that drained into the lake by Bayou St. John, which was navigable to within two miles of the river. 2

FOUNDATION OF NEW ORLEANS.

In the month of March, 1718, Bienville sailed from the Bay of Biloxi with his followers and eighty convicts, and probably came through the lakes and up Bayou St. John to the first high land at the present intersection of Broad street and Bayou St. John, then following the Indian trail along the head waters of Bayou Gentilly, reached the Mississippi River near where the French market now stands. The site selected was at that time a portage to the lake, and at the head of a bend of the river which was so deep that large vessels could approach, tie up to the bank and throw out their flying bridges as is done to-day with our hoisting stages. The Mississippi River is constantly changing its bends as the strong current wears away the points on the opposite bank, and the heads of the bends keep moving down the 5

stream. Thus, in later years, the head of the crescent-shaped bend, from which our city is often called "*The Crescent City*," moved to Esplanade avenue, and now it has reached the North-Eastern R. R. wharf, at Montegut street. Excavations made in 1899 at the corner of Royal and Canal streets for the drainage work, indicate that the Mississippi River in pre-historic times overflowed into Lake Pontchartrain and created the Metairie and Gentilly ridges of land when the waters subsided.

NAMING OF THE NEW CITY.

Bienville named the new city, "*New Orleans*," in honor of the Duke of Orleans, the regent of France during the minority of Louis XVth. The early military life of the Duke of Orleans promised a glorious military career, but his dissolute life soon changed this, and history seems to forget his virtues and only regards his vices. With all his short comings, he was an able statesman and an efficient organizer to whom is perhaps most due the creation of the colony of Louisiana. Living in a licentious age, and at the most dissolute of courts, where subtile and powerful persons were used without remorse to ridd one of an enemy; this prince with a lofty sense of honor, zealously guarded the young King, his nephew, whose frail life only stood betwixt him and the glorious throne of France.

PLAN AND SETTLEMENT OF THE NEW CITY.

Latour laid off a city of sixty-five squares, eleven front on the river and six deep, and the convicts were employed to clean the site. Each square was divided into twelve lots, each measuring sixty feet front and given to colonists on condition of being fenced and ditched. The ground was marshy, and a small levee was built to keep out the waters of the Mississippi which threatened to overflow the place. In 1723 the seat of government was transferred to New Orleans, which at that time consisted of a collection of miserable mud huts and a few government buildings. The population did not increase rapidly, even in 1745 only numbering 800. The lands above and below the city were granted to colonists, and in this manner the Jesuits secured the lands extending from Canal street to Felicity Road, now comprising the First District. In 1764, the Jesuit order was banished, these lands were confiscated, and what is assessed to-day with their buildings for \$37,000,000 was sold for \$18,000. At the confiscation sale, the grant was divided into several tracts and sold to Delord, Saulet, Delogny and others, who subsequently laid out faubourgs which bear their names on all the maps of the city. Louisiana was then confided to the management of John Law and his Mississippi Company, and was pictured to the gullible speculators in France as an El Dorado with rich mines

of gold and silver, with fountains of youth, where men attained gigantic size and lived for hundreds of years, where the morning dew on the plants crystallized itself into the most brilliant of diamonds to be gathered up in baskets. In such attractive colors was Louisiana painted to the greedy speculators in France that the colony commenced to prosper, and some improvements were made, but little did those men dream that time would come when in the far off Rocky Mountains of Louisiana, mines of gold and silver would be discovered far richer than they in their wildest dreams could imagine and crops drawn from the earth a thousand fold greater than France produced.

HISTORY OF NEW ORLEANS.

The history of New Orleans is woven into the history of Louisiana, and Gayarre, Martin, King, Ficklen and others, have written so much on the subject that it is useless to go more into the details of the events of Louisiana's life as a French and a Spanish colony and as an American territory; but let it be remarked that each one of these epochs has left an indelible imprint on our language, customs, civilization and buildings. Louisiana was transferred by France to Spain, on August 18th, 1769, and France transferred it back on November 20th, 1803; then France transferred it to the United States on December 20th, 1803. All these acts took place in Jackson Square, then called

Place d'Armes, where the most historical buildings of the Mississippi Valley are situated.

NEW ORLEANS FORTIFIED AND WALLED.

The city was fortified by the Spaniards, and under the Spanish Governor, Baron de Carondelet, the fortifications were completed by a line of earthworks, three feet high, surmounted by a palisade of cypress 12 feet high, with a ditch 40 feet wide and 7 feet deep. The lines commencing at the river, were built along the lower side of Canal street, thence along Rampart street, thence along Esplanade avenue to the river. On the site of the present Custom House, was Fort St. Louis, near the corner of Bourbon and Canal streets, a small lunette existed; at the corner of Canal and Rampart streets, was Fort Burgundy; at Congo Square, now called Beauregard Square, Fort Ferdinand stood; at the corner of Rampart and Esplanade avenues, was Fort St. John, and where the U. S. Mint is now located on the river bank, was Fort St. Charles. These fortifications were demolished about 1804, after the Americans took possession, but some of the remains are remembered by persons still living. A person, who saw the fortifications before they were demolished, has often described them to me, and told me how, as a boy, he played in the lunette near the corner of Canal and Bourbon Streets, and put to flight a crowd of assaulting boys by pointing at them the stock of

an old gun he had found in the casemates. Fort St. Charles was not demolished until about 1826, and before its gate, in 1814, Gen. Jackson stood and received his nondescript army as it marched down to battle at Chalmette. An old lady informed me that she remembered distinctly the sentinel on his post at its gate as late as 1826. These fortifications which surrounded the city completely and walled it in were considered by Carondelet as a triumph of military engineering; but a French General describing them said that they were more effective to keep the citizens inside the walls in subjection than to protect the city from enemies on the outside.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND HOUSES.

The Spanish Governor's residence was on Decatur street, then called old Levee street, near Toulouse street. Later it was in the two story brick building at the N. W. corner of Decatur and Bienville streets, which was demolished about 1876, in the rear of which on Chartres street was an entrance which is still marked by two cannons half buried in the ground, and in front of the building the triangle of ground was used as an ordnance yard during the territorial epoch. On the west side of Royal street below St. Louis street was the Spanish *comandancia* or army headquarters and cavalry barracks which is recognized by the two cannons at the gate, partly buried in

the ground, and here the last Spanish sentinel was posted.

At the Place d'Armes, is the Carbildo at the N. W. corner of Chartres and St. Peter streets, erected by the Spaniards in 1795, a two-story building built of small sun dried brick and shell lime, which to-day seems almost as solid and indestructible as granite. Within its venerable walls, officers of the city called a chapter or *cabildo*, met, and from its balcony have been proclaimed the successive transfers of the colony, and the colonists absolved of their allegiance. The mansard roof was added in 1850, and the upper portion closed in to provide offices for the judges.

The building on the lower side of the Cathedral, now used by the civil courts, was erected in 1810 on the site of Capuchin convent by Baron de Pontalba, and afterwards sold to the City of New Orleans for \$50,000.

The buildings on each side of the square were built in 1849 by Baroness de Pontalba, the daughter of Don Andres Almonester of Rojas, on the site of a row of small one-story stores, formerly the Royal store houses, the ground of which was leased from the Crown. The Baroness, who died in Paris in the 80's, cut down the ancient elms in Jackson Square, and had it laid out in the French style of gardening, and there is a tradition that one of the conditions of her munificence was, no ice cream shall be sold therein.

The first Cathedral of St. Louis was erected by the French, and when it was destroyed by fire in 1797, a new one was built by Don Andres Almonester y Rojas, and enlarged in 1850 under the administration of Archbishop Blanc. Before this work was done, there were two towers in front detached from the main building with bell shaped roofs in Spanish style used for the bells and for watch towers. The roof of the cathedral was flat, and during Spanish times the *sereno* or night-watchman paced back and forth during the night on the lookout for fires. When he discovered one he rang his bell in the tower, and the fire companies, with their primitive hand engines, rushed to the front of the Cathedral to ascertain the location of the fire. In 1850 the Cathedral was enlarged, and the towers joined to the building for use as stairways. The old Spanish design of their roofs changed to open work spires which later were covered with slate.

The jail or *calaboza* of the Spaniards was in the rear of the Cabildo, and was used until 1832, when a portion was torn down, and the prison of the parish was transferred to the new parish prison on Orleans street. In former times there was no State penitentiary and prisoners were sentenced to the chain gang. The prisoners worked on the streets dressed in a red shirt with a number on it and a pair of coarse pantaloons. Attached to each other by a chain and under the care

of the "*conducteur de la chaine*," they were a daily street spectacle of human misery.

In 1850, the workingmen engaged in making excavations to enlarge the Cathedral, discovered in the rear of it several underground cells extending some distance under the garden.

The French market was built in 1813, on the site of a former market, where the city slaughter houses stood, before they were moved to Slaughterhouse point, now Algiers.

On the S. W. corner of Chartres and St. Peter streets is an old building, now somewhat modernized, which was the first hotel in the Mississippi Valley. The rear part of the old Ursulines Convent at the N. E. corner of Chartres and Ursulines streets, now used as the Archbishoppal Palace, is the venerable chapel of the Ursulines, which was the first church edifice built in Louisiana. Chartres street, from the Cathedral down to Esplanade avenue, was called Condé street, but was not open until in the 20's, the old Barracks extending across it, and these barracks have been entirely demolished except the portion at the S. E. corner of Chartres and Hospital streets, for many years used by the St. Aloysius school of the Brothers of the Sacred Heart.

The public buildings, except the Cabildo and the churches, became the property of the United States when the colony was acquired. After Louisiana was transferred, the population increased

and the centre of the city, which had been at Orleans street, was transferred to Toulouse street, where the banks and offices were situated. The houses on Royal street and streets parallel to the river were numbered below Orleans street as No. 1 south Royal street, and above No. 1 north Royal street; but gradually the town moved upwards, and soon after the American assumed possession the banks moved still farther up. The first bank created in the Mississippi Valley, and the second in the United States was erected in the middle of the square on the west side of Royal street, between St. Louis and Conti streets. Several banks and large offices were located near Conti street, and the U. S. Post Office was located at the N. E. corner of Royal and Bienville streets, then it was moved to the N. E. corner of Royal and Canal streets, then to the S. W. corner of Customhouse street and Exchange Alley; then into the Merchants Exchange on Royal street, between Canal and Customhouse streets; and finally in 1862 ended its travels in the U. S. Customhouse.

OLD CEMETERIES.

On some old map I have seen the S. E. corner of Royal and Conti streets, where the Mortgage Office is situated, marked as a cemetery. The second cemetery was located in the square bounded by Burgundy, Rampart, Toulouse and St. Peter streets. Dauphine street, for many years, had a canal, and the cemetery was therefore on the rear

line of the city. After Baron de Carondelet had erected the fortification and dug the old basin canal, he opened a new cemetery beyond the lines which has been gradually narrowed down by the opening of streets to the square bounded by south Basin, Trémé, Conti and St. Louis streets., and is known as St. Louis No. 1. Within its walls are the tombs of the families whose names are often mentioned in the history of Louisiana, and to read the inscriptions on these venerable tombs is like calling the roll of the statesmen, soldiers, historians, lawyers and merchants, who have made its history. It is a curious place where the tombs are scattered without regard to lines, and it is still under the control of the Cathedral of St. Louis. The portion adjoining in the rear called the "*Old Protestant Cemetery*," now abandoned, and a forlorn place covered with a mass of broken tombs, tangled bushes and debris, belongs to Christ Church, and at one time extended up to Bienville street. It was in the rear of the Roman Catholic cemetery, and was set apart for the burial of Protestants and strangers; and in 1807 was placed by the City Council in charge of the corporation of Christ Church. The opening of Trémé street narrowed this cemetery down to a small strip, one hundred feet wide on the east side of Trémé street; but in 1821, the Girod street cemetery was opened, and became the principal burial place of Protestants. Beyond this old Protestant cemetery, was a place sur-

rounded by cypress pickets, called pieux, and reserved for the burial of negroes.

GOVERNMENT UNDER THE SPANISH REGIME.

Under the Spanish regime, the city was well governed by officers, appointed by the Governor, who formed a cabildo or chapter which met in the Cabildo. The total income of the city was but \$2000 per annum, and now it is near \$3,000,000. Licenses were first imposed by a city ordinance of February 22d, 1770, the amounts being fixed at \$40 on a tavern, billiard table and coffee house; \$20 on a boarding house; \$1 on every barrel of brandy; \$370 on the Butcher's Association; \$6 anchorage duty on a vessel of 200 tons, etc.

THE POLICE OF THE CITY.

The police, like those of Spain, were "Serénos," calling out the hours of the night and the condition of the weather. In later times, even down to 1836 the police, called "gendarmes," patrolled the city in squads of four. They were dressed during the winter in blue coats and pants, bell-shaped hats with black leather cockades, and were armed with brass handle cutlasses, flint lock muskets and bayonets, and were mustered every evening in the Place d'Armes. Later, these gendarmes were known as "watchmen" and were not uniformed until after the Civil War. They were armed with clubs and struck the signals for assistance and calls

by rapping on the pavement. They carried rattles to call for assistance and also to give fire alarms, which last were also rung by hand in the belfry of the prisons. These rattles, about ten inches wide, made of wood like a huge child's rattle, revolved around a wheel on a stick, making a loud, rasping sound that could be heard several squares off. Even to this day we hear the old-fashioned cry of watch! watch! in lieu of the modern cry of police! In the Jackson Square station is still seen the old-fashioned stock for the punishment of refractory persons, now seldom used.

CONDITION OF THE CITY.

During the Spanish regime, the streets were in bad condition, and for many years after, until in 1821 round cobblestones were first used and square block pavement was introduced in 1850 by Jas. H. Caldwell. In 1824, General Lafayette, who was lodged in the old Cabildo as the city's guest, went to make a visit in a grand coach and four, and was stalled at the corner of Magazine and Gravier streets. In early times there were few carriages, and in the country as late as 1814, there were few horses, the ploughing and hauling being done by hand.

The sidewalks, called in local parlance, *banquettes*, a name derived from Normandy in France to signify a raised embankment of earth, were not all paved, and the earth was held from sloughing off into the ditch gutter by flatboat gunwales. The polite custom of to-day, of giving the lady the

inside of the sidewalk, was reversed in olden days, and the lady was given the outside so she could have the advantage of gunwale to walk on.

LIGHTING OF THE STREETS.

The streets were badly lighted by oil lamps, suspended over the intersections of streets, and swung on a rope attached to posts planted at the corners. Gas lighting was introduced in 1833, by Jas. H. Caldwell; and the old Camp street theatre, on Camp street, opposite Natchez street, was the first building where it was used. Electricity for street lighting was first introduced in 1886; and electric cars on the Carrollton road were first operated.

AMUSEMENTS.

The first theatre was the Theatre St. Philippe on the street of that name near Royal street. In the 20's Caldwell built the Camp street theatre for English plays, some of the seats being arranged like pews in a church. There were many halls where balls were given by the whites and quadroons. The people were fond of dancing and in going to balls, were always preceded by a negro boy, sometimes nicknamed "cocodri," carrying a lantern, called in creole fanal, which, on moonlight nights was not lit, but served to carry away from the supper table bonbons, nougats and other most prized delicacies. Hence one sometimes still hears the mocking cry of the urchin "*Mulatresse conti en bal cocodri porte fanal.*"

RELIGION IN EARLY TIMES.

The creoles were all Roman Catholics, but their independence of character often brought them in conflict with the higher clergy and in one instance the cathedral remained closed for a long time. The churches were crown property and were nearly always served by Capuchin friars, but when the country was transferred to the United States, the government seems to have tacitly abandoned its claim to all the church property, and the people around each church were incorporated by the territorial legislature into corporations, under the name of the rector and church wardens (*marguilliers*), of the parish of —, and thus we came to district the country, comprising the country about the parish church, into a political parish.

No Protestant church existed until 1805, when Christ Church congregation was organized, but with the influx of American immigration, the other denominations soon organized churches of their faith until they are found throughout the valley in greater numbers than those of the Roman Catholic.

WATER SUPPLY.

In early days, river water was sold on the streets by the bucket and barrel and clarified with alum. Drinking water was also supplied by cisterns, and shallow wells furnished water for washing yards, some of these still existing in the Second District. The waterworks were built in 1836 by the Commercial Bank, and pumped the water from

the Mississippi River into a reservoir, from whence it was distributed throughout the city by iron and wooden pipes, and some made of sheet iron encased in cement.

FIRE DEPARTMENT.

The city was visited several times by great fires, which in early days were very disastrous. They were extinguished by hand engines, which were used almost exclusively until about 1868. The first steam engine, named the "Young America," was operated in 1853, at the destruction of the Verandah hotel at the N. E. corner of St. Charles and Common streets. It was a huge cumbersome piece of mechanism, exciting great curiosity and gave rise to wonderful tales about its power to throw a stream a great distance. The fire department was a volunteer organization until it was reorganized as a paid fire department.

TRAVELLING.

Travel in early days was in ships by sea, by Keel boats on the Mississippi River, and by a stage, which on certain days went up as far as Manchac. The first steamboat reached New Orleans in 1812, and that means of travel immediately increased. The first railroad, the Pontchartrain R. R., was built in 1830, from the river to the lake. It was the second railroad built in the United States, and one of its employees designed the first railroad platform for loading cars.

Railway communication with the North was opened in 1859, by the construction of the N. O. Jackson and Great Northern R. R., now called the Illinois Central R. R. Sailing packets, to about 1845, were used to reach New York and Europe, and then the era of steamships came in.

TELEGRAPHS.

The first telegraph, a system of signalling by paddles, invented by Chappe, was installed in the 30's on the roof of the St. Louis Hotel to communicate with the Passes. Some electric lines were put in operation in 1848, but it was not until 1850 that connection was made with St. Louis and New York.

ORIGIN OF POPULATION.

The original settlers of New Orleans came from the provinces of Normandy and Brittany in France. During the Spanish regime, besides the immigration from old Spain, many came from the Canary Islands, principally settling in St. Bernard Parish and around the city, while during the latter years of the Spanish rule, there was a large influx of refugees from St. Domingo. During the first three decades of the American domination there was a great immigration from New York, New England and especially from Maryland. All the various immigrations have left a particular imprint on our civilization. The French from Normandy, who were mostly soldiers, brought a knightly temperament of high honor and a courtly refinement, and

from Brittany came a sturdy and peaceful peasant class with a love of farming and profound religious sentiments. The Spanish brought a love of order and form with agricultural tastes of cattle ranching and a sonorous language melting into a French tinged with a Norman and Bréton patois to be handed down to us as a creole dialect. From the West came those venturesome men, who, crossing the Alleghany mountain ranges, had found homes in the forests and prairies, and came to trade in "*Orleens*" and finally to settle there. From New England came enterprising Yankees and from New York and Maryland men with great commercial and financial ideas, who soon extended the commercial relations of the port, and transformed the town into a city, and who also have made the English language of the State so singularly pure and free from the peculiar accent and exaggerations that have crept into it in old England.

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE CITY.

The various immigrations have made New Orleans the most cosmopolitan city on the American Continent, and each has left something that has made our city peculiarly attractive to the visitor.

In the colonial days, life was very gay; the colonist being fond of balls, theatres and music, New Orleans was regarded as the Paris of America. Governor Galvez, who had married a Louisiana lady, held a sort of court, which was a centre of

refinement and elegance. The table was well supplied and the style of cooking, brought from Normandy in France and enlivened by the Spaniards with an infusion of peppers and spices, has been handed down to us as Creole cooking in the form of gumbos, jambalayas, and many other appetizing dishes that have become world renowned among gourmets.

DRESS OF THE PEOPLE.

The costumes of the people changed with the age. An old gentleman, who was present at the Cabildo when the Spanish officials transferred the colony to the French in 1803, has often described to me the costumes of the commissioners as being of gold laced coats of brilliant colors, satin knee breeches, cocked hats, dress swords and powdered hair. Later the dress of the French Revolution came in, and ladies appeared in short waists and clinging skirts; and the men in tight pantaloons, blue or snuff colored coats, high red collars, brass buttons and elaborate shirt and waist ruffles. Knee breeches and silk stockings gradually disappeared, and were sometimes worn at balls as late as 1830. The fashion of men powdering the hair disappeared early in the century, and also the wearing of a cue; although, as late as 1866, I saw the late Alfred Hennen, a lawyer of distinction, wearing a short cue; and I also saw Colonel Moncure, of Virginia, a prominent planter of the State, wearing in the streets a blue coat with brass

buttons, ruffled shirt, tight nankeen breeches and top boots. With time, the colors became darker, and the proper costume of a merchant in every day life to 1860 was a black dress coat with a high collar, a flaring garrote collar, black satin stockings and waistcoat, and pantaloons of liberal width and flaps.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY.

I have endeavored, ladies and gentlemen, to give some details of life in the colony of Louisiana and of the transition of costumes to modern days, but it is perhaps well, that as a matter of record, some of the dates should be given of the various additions to the City of New Orleans. Under the French and Spanish regimes the officials of the city were appointed by the crown. During the American domination, the first charter of the city was granted by the territorial legislature of 1805. The city, at that time, composed that part of the city between Canal and Esplanade streets, the river and Rampart streets, which is often alluded to as "la cité" or "the old city." Beyond these streets were the Faubourg St. Mary, Delord, Saulet, Delogyny, Avart, Nuns, on the upper side, the Faubourg Marigny on the lower side, and the Faubourg Trémé in the rear. Later, this charter of 1805 was abrogated and the old city and faubourgs were organized as district municipalities, with governments of their own, which issued paper money *ad libitum*. In this manner, the old city, with the

Faubourg Trémé, became the first municipality; the Faubourg St. Mary the second municipality, and the Faubourg Marigny, the third municipality. In 1852 these various municipalities were merged into one corporation by a legislative act, and their debts, amounting to —, consolidated into one issue of bonds which became known in the money market as "City of New Orleans Consols." The city was re-districted and in this manner, commencing at Felicity Road, then the upper city limit, and going down stream, the second municipality became the first district, the first municipality the second district, the third municipality the third district, and the Faubourg Livaudais, which had previously been incorporated as the City of Lafayette, was annexed as the fourth district. The legislature by acts annexed, in 1870, the town of Algiers, originally called Duverjeville, as the fifth district; in 1870 the City of Jefferson, composed of Faubourg Bouligny and others as the sixth district; in 1874 the town of Carrollton, formerly the Macarty Plantation, and the suburb of Greenville were annexed as the seventh district. This vast area, extending from the Mississippi River to Lake Pontchartrain and even as far as Chef Menteur Bayou, comprises the City of New Orleans and embraces about 105 square miles of territory, and had, according to the U. S. Census of 1890, a population of 249,039. In 1728, ten years after the founding of the city, there were but one hundred houses, and now there are about

forty thousand houses. The total length of the streets is 566.29 miles, of which about 500 miles are unpaved. In 1850 the stone square block pavement was introduced; in 1868 the wooden block pavement was used and found worthless and in 1887 the first asphalt pavement was laid on St. Charles avenue.

The climate is mild, New Orleans being in the same latitude as Cairo; a line drawn from the U. S. Geodetic Survey stone in Lafayette Square will pass through the centre of the Great Pyramid of Cheops in Egypt. Although near the tropics, the climate is not extremely hot or unhealthy, and old settlers never used ice to cool the water. A tradition exists that ice was considered so unhealthy in the early part of this century that the mayor caused the first cargo of ice to be dumped into the river. However, ice cream and soda water were introduced in the 30's by Anthony Rasch, the jeweler, at his store near the corner of Chartres and Bienville streets, and soon became popular refreshments.

ORIGIN OF THE STREET NAMES.

New Orleans is one of the cities of the world that has the most varied selection of street names, and these in a measure indicate the polyglot immigration that built up the town, and recall names and events of the history of Louisiana. The French named the streets after their princes and thus we have Orleans, Conti and Chartres streets; the Spaniards, after their King and Governors; Charles III, Casacalvo and Carondelet. The Ameri-

cans selected the names of their heroes and statesman, such as Decatur, General Taylor, Henry Clay and Webster. The Creoles chose the names of their Governors, Claiborne, Robertson and others. The settlers from the North brought from their homes the names of trees, as Laurel and Chestnut and the mode of numbering, as First, Second and Third streets. The college-bred men, following the classic wave that rolled over the country, building Greek temples for our homes, resorted to classic names as Melpomene, Thalia and others. A few names refer to popular games as Craps and Bagatelle, or to some local features as Canal or Rampart.

The pronunciation of many of these names of our streets, has, by local usage, been changed, the Creole population giving the French sound to the classic names of Terpsichore, Euterpe, as Terpsikor, Euterp. The Latins, as a rule, translated geographical names, but the Anglo-Saxon, while maintaining the original spelling *anglicizes* and twists the pronunciation. In Indiana, Terre Haute Station comes from the railroad conductor as "Terry hut;" in Virginia, Taliaferro becomes "Tollifer," and in our own city Enghien street is only known to the street urchin as Engine street.

NOMENCLATURE OF STREETS OF THE OLD CITY.

In the old city, the present Second District, we have Canal street, named from a canal that

was the ditch of the fortifications on that street; Rámp-art (not Ram-part as it is pronounced); the former ramparts of the fortifications; Esplanade avenue, the former esplanade or space in front of fortifications. Commencing near the river, we have Peters street, named after Samuel Jarvis Peters, a distinguished citizen and alderman, a lineal descendant of Hugh Peters, a regicide preacher, who was one of the leaders in the revolution in England that brought Charles 1st to the block. Then there is Crossman street, named after the popular Crossman, an able mayor, a hatter by trade; Decatur street, named after Commodore Stephen Decatur, the hero of Algiers; Dorsière street, a small street near the Customhouse, called after the Dorsière family who lived on that street in the 20's; Chartres street, after the Duc de Chartres, a title of the Orleans family; Royal street, corresponding to the Yankee Main street. the principal thoroughfare of a town; Bourbon street (not Bour-bon) from the royal Bourbon family of France; Dauphine street, from the Dauphin or Dauphiness, the eldest son of the King of France, or his wife, but probably after the Dauphin; as Rue is feminine, the name for euphony sake became Dauphine, for if it was Dauphine, it should be translated Dauphiness street, or as some claim, from the province of Dauphine; Burgundy street (not Bur-gundy) from one of the royal titles or from one of the provinces of France;

Bienville street was named after Governor Bienville, whose house stood on that street near Decatur street, then the river bank; Conti street was called after the prince of Conti, illegitimate son of Louis XIV; St. Louis street after the patron saint of France; Toulouse street after the Compte de Toulouse, and Dumaine street after Duc duMaine, both illegitimate sons of Louis XIV by Madame de Montespan; St. Peter, St. Ann, St. Philip street, after favorite saint baptismal names of the Orleans family. Barracks street was named from the Royal barracks being located across that street, near the Levee, and Hospital street, from the Royal Hospital near that street.

The main cross street, a little wider than the others, was called Orleans street after the Regent Duc d'Orleans, and was the centre of the original city; all houses were numbered on Royal and other parallel streets, as No. 1 north Royal street or No. 1 south Royal street.

FIRST DISTRICT STREET NOMENCLATURE.

In the First District, we have Tchoupitoulas street (now pronounced Chapitoulas), named from the tribe of Tchoupitoulas indians who lived on the bayou of that name. Next, we have Magazine street, where the "magazines" or public stores were situated. If powder magazines had been located there, they would have been noted on the old maps as "*poudrières*". Following, we have Camp street

named from an encampment of soldiers, or what is more probable from the place of the negro squatters, as, to this day, on our plantations, the negro quarters are known among the Creoles as "*le camp*." St. Charles street follows next in order, named in honor, without doubt, of the reigning King, Charles III of Spain, as it is the continuation of Royal or Main street. Next is Carondelet street, deriving its name from the Spanish governor, Baron de Carondelet, and the following street, Baronne (Baroness) after his wife. Gov. de Carondelet had a country house near the corner of Carondelet and Howard ave.; the ground in those days, so far back, had ponds and was marshy, being near Goose Pond square on Poydras street, so it must have been more of a shooting box than a country villa. Continuing on back we come to Basin street, thus named because it was the street leading to the old basin; then Trémé street, after the Trémé family; then Marais street or street of the marshes, although some claim it was called after the family of Des Marais.

The next streets are named after Villere, Robertson, Claiborne (not Clayborne), Derbigny, Roman, Johnson, White, Dupré, after the early governors of the State; Prieur street after Mayor Denis Prieur; Miro, Galvez, Gayoso, Salcedo and O'Reilly streets after Spanish governors; Tonti street, after the Chevalier de Tonti, the explorer; Rocheblave, Dorgenois, Dolhonde streets after well-

known creole families; Genoio street after Mayor Genoio; Clark street, after Daniel Clark, the reputed father of Myra Clark Gaines, the celebrated litigant; Hagan avenue, after old John Hagan, a noted land speculator of the 40's; Gasquet street, after the late William A. Gasquet, a rich merchant and a member of the city council. Then, in the far rear, we have Metairie Road, formerly the Chemin de la Metairie or the road to the prairie.

Going up town from Canal street we come to Common street, or as it should be called Commons street, being the site of the commons outside of the fortification; at the same time, Rue Commune, translated into Common street, may have been called so as it was the boundary street between the fortifications and the lands owned by Gravier. Next, we have Gravier street, named after Bertrand Gravier, who owned the concession of land the front part of which was involved in the great batture suit that occupied the courts for years. Then Union and Perdido streets, the latter being the Spanish word for *lost*, and being probably so called as the trail lost itself in the swamp. Poydras street was named in honor of Benjamin Poydras, a capitalist and president of the Bank of Louisiana; the first bank established in the Mississippi Valley and the second in the United States. Lafayette street, formerly called Hevia, was named after General Lafayette. Then we have Girod street, pronounced Giro, named after Mayor

Nicolas Girod; Julia street, after a favorite servant of Poydras; Delord street, after the Delord family, who purchased that part of the Jesuit lands, and whose relatives live in our midst. Poyfarré street, pronounced Poifaray, after the family of that name whose old fashioned house surrounded by large pillars stands on the upper side of the street, near Camp street. Howard ave., formerly Triton Walk, is named after the late Charles T. Howard, a capitalist. St. Joseph street, after the favorite patron Saint. Lee Circle, named after General Lee, the confederate chieftain, was formerly known as Tivoli Circle from the Tivoli gardens, whence popular amusements such as a Tivoli or flying horses derived their name.

STREETS OF THE UPPER PART OF THE FIRST DISTRICT.

Then we enter the garden of the Muses and the Gods, and we have the streets called Calliope, after the muse of epic poetry; Erato, the muse of erotic poetry; Clio (Cleio) after the muse of history; Thalia (Thaleia) after the muse of comedy; Melpomene, the muse of tragedy; Terpsichore, the muse of dance; Euterpe, the muse of lyric poetry; Polymnia (Polhymnia) the muse of sublime hymns; Urania, the muse of astronomy; Nayades (now called St. Charles Avenue), from the Naiads, the river nymphs, was formerly spelled in the Spanish way, Nayades, and so pronounced. Apollo (now Carondelet) named after the God of song and music;

Bacchus (now Baronne) after the God of wine; Dryades, after the nymphs of the woods; Hercules, (now Rampart), after the God of strength and valor; and Euphrosine (Euphrosyne), one of the three graces.

NOMENCLATURE OF SQUARES AND PARKS.

The names of the squares in the last twenty-five years have been changed. Thus Jackson Square was formerly called the Place d'Armes. and was the place where the troops assembled and the 9 o'clock gun was fired as a signal for the slaves to retire to their homes. The name was changed in 1850 to Jackson Square when it was transformed into a garden and the signal gun was removed to Congo Square. It was the custom to arrest after "gun fire," as it was termed, any negro that was found in the streets without a pass. This "gun fire" signal is perpetuated now in the 9 o'clock bell signal on our fire alarm bells.

Congo Square, now Beauregard Square, on Rampart street, was so named from the custom of the negroes, dressed in the brightest of calicoes and neatly arranged "*tignons*," dancing there the "Bamboula" and other Congo dances imported by them from Africa. The music was furnished by a drum made of a skin stretched over a barrel head and a bone rattling over the jaw bone of a dead mule, accompanied by a low monotonous chant. At intervals, the dance was interrupted by resorting

to the nigger marchandes' stands of "pain patate," a sort of cake pudding made of sweet potato and molasses, and sweet ginger beer, which was faintly cooled in small earthenware bottles set in tubs of water.

Washington Square was named after General Washington, and M'Carty Square after the Macarty family, who were owners of the land in the vicinity. Up town we find Lafayette Square, formerly designated on old maps as a "place publique," and named in honor of the French patriot, General Lafayette. The square has been the scene of many stirring events in the modern history of Louisiana, and this year the last of its fine old elms, killed by the cold, have been cut down and the place is now a flower garden. Clay Square on Third street and Douglas Square on Washington avenue were named after the statesmen of those names; the latter being now called Morris Park after the late John A. Morris. Margaret Place, on Prytania street, perpetuates the name of good Margaret Haughery, the friend of the orphan, whose simple name of "Margaret" is so fondly cherished in our homes as the benefactress of the poor. Gayarré Place, on Esplanade avenue, recalls to us the name of Louisiana's distinguished historian and a former Secretary of State.

Audubon Park, long known as the Upper City Park, was formerly a part of the Foucher Plantation, and on it sugar was first manufactured in

Louisiana. It was purchased by the city in the 70's, and later, at the suggestion of the late Dr. T. G. Richardson, the eminent surgeon, was named in honor of John James Audubon, the naturalist, a native of Louisiana. Annunciation square was designated as a site for a church to be dedicated to the Feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary. Coliseum Square or Park was reserved by the owners of Faubourg Deligny, on a site for a Coliseum, where in imitation of the Romans, races and public games were to be held. On old land maps, a coliseum, shaped like the letter "E," was designed with its open end facing Race street, which was a wide street called "Chemin de la Course or Race Track street, a wide thoroughfare, planted with trees that extended from the river to this spot. The lower end of the park was reserved for fountains or "bassins," and the street, now called Terpsichore, leading to the river was designated as "Rue des Bassins."

The square bounded by Prytania, St. Charles, Melpomene and Euterpe streets, was reserved for a Prytaneum or a university. In later years the destination of this site was altered and the property sold leaving a sidewalk strip around it, so that the houses are far back from the line. The Prytaneum, in ancient Greece, was a meeting place, a kind of People's palace, where ambassadors were received, banquets held, the sacred fire kept burning, the youth instructed, and where the most noble and

illustrious citizens of the city assembled; in France, to this day, the preparatory schools are often called "Prytanées." The street leading to it was called the "Rue des Prytanes," or in English Prytanes street from the people of the Prytaneum, but has now been corrupted into the pretty sounding name of Prytania street, which by many is erroneously supposed to be Goddess of Spring or Flowers. A distinguished member of the Louisiana Historical Society, and formerly its President, Judge William Wirt Howe, has told me he remembered a few years ago seeing the old sign board "Rue des Prytanes." Terpsichore street, between Prytania and Coliseum streets, called since Parkerson Place, after William S. Parkerson, a notable political leader; was formerly called "Cours des Prytanes or Promenade of the Prytanes, which became corrupted into Prytania Walk, finally to lose its pretty name in Terpsichore street.

In this district, towards the river, we find Bellechasse street after Col. de Bellechasse, who commanded the legion mustered by the French colonial prefect Laussat when he transferred the colony to the United States. Henderson street was named after Stephen Henderson, the owner of the adjoining cotton press and the creator of the Henderson poor fund. Ro-bin street, not Robin street, named after the Robin family, who owned the Faubourg Robin-Deligny. Roffignac street, called in honor of a mayor of New Orleans, who is

jovially known as the inventor of the drink of whisky and soda called after him. Gaiennie street perpetuates the name of one of the early colonists. Edwards street, now Melpomene and Celeste recall family baptismal names of the Saulet family, who owned Faubourg Saulet which extended from the river to near the head of the new basin, including St. Theresa's church; the ground being donated on the condition that two pews should be reserved for the Saulet family and their descendants. Higher up in the District, we find Orange street, which should be Orange Trees street or Rue des Orangers, evidently a name given because it was the site of the orange grove on the old plantation.

Then in the front we have Market street, the site of a contemplated market around a hollow square. On the boundary of the First District, we have Felicity Road, not Felicity street, from Chemin de Félicité, a roadway between two plantations, and the name a favorite baptismal name to signify peace between two private owners on the boundary.

FOURTH DISTRICT STREET NOMENCLATURE.

We come now to St. Mary, St. Andrew and Josephine streets, favorite baptismal names of the owners of the plantation. Then Jackson avenue recalls the name of the hero of the battle of New Orleans. Philip street, a baptismal name, and then we cross between Philip and First streets the old

boundary line between the cities of New Orleans and Lafayette, the 4th District; the latter was the old Livaudais Plantation; and we enter the Yankee named streets of First, Second and others, and Laurel, Chestnut, Plaquemines (or now Coliseum) and others.

SIXTH DISTRICT STREET NOMENCLATURE.

We then cross Toledano street, named after a well-known family; and going into the 6th District, we meet with Delachaise, Foucher and other streets, names that recall old Creole families; then Peniston street, named after Dr. Peniston; then we enter the Napoleonic region of battles, such as Marengo, Milan, Berlin, Jena, Cadiz and Valence.

Then crossing Upperline street, we enter on another plantation, where former owners' names are reached in the street names of Robert, Soniat, Duffosat, Bellcastle, Valmont, Leontine, Eleonore, Joseph, etc. We then reach the region of the statesmen, and we have Henry Clay, Webster and Calhoun streets.

NOMENCLATURE OF SEVENTH DISTRICT STREETS.

A variety of names follow, and in Carrollton we find sandwiched between Third, Fourth, etc., streets the names of Madison, Jefferson, Jackson; the names of cities of the old world, such as Dublin,

Edinburg and Belfast, and also the name of Cambrone, the hero of Waterloo.

NOMENCLATURE OF THIRD DISTRICT STREETS.

Let us now go down town to the Third District, the old faubourg Marigny, laid out by the old barons de Marigny-Mandeville, of a family long settled in Louisiana. Some of the streets were called after the family names, such as Marigny street and Mandeville streets, some in remembrance of the Spanish regime, as Spain street, Ferdinand street after the Prince of Asturias, who became Ferdinand VII of Spain; Casacalvo street after Governor the Marquess of Casa-Calvo; Enghien street recalls the sympathy aroused in the Spanish royalists for the Duc d'Engien, the last of the Condés of France, who was shot by Consul Napoleon Bonaparte at Vicennes. Then we have fanciful names, such as Music, Arts, Painters streets. Rue des Grands Hommes, translated to-day as Greatmen street, would indicate an admiration for the rising stars of the First Empire of France; then Love street, which tradition points out as the locality where the sweethearts of old Marigny were to live and which was morally counter-balanced by naming another street. Rue des Bons Enfants, now translated into Goodchildren street. Craps street, was named after the favorite gambling game of craps, still played with much zest by our newsboys and others all over the United States; tradition

says old Marigny was fond of playing the game and lost at craps all the lots on that street.

Proceeding down town, the owners of the land, dividing it into squares and streets, have perpetuated the names in Montegut, formerly a mayor of New Orleans, De Clouet, an old Creole family with noble prefix of De dropped, Piety street, a corruption of the old family name of Pieté, Desire street, should be Desiré, a baptismal name, as well as Louisa, Elmira, Pauline and Jeanne streets, all family names. Then we come to Lesseps street, the name of the family of the great Frenchman who built the Suez canal; then the streets, called Urquhart, Jourdan, Deslonde, Reynes, Forstall, Lizardi, Egana, Andry, Caffin and Tricou, all names of families honored in Louisiana who have left numerous descendants.

The names of benefactors were not forgotten, and thus we have Tulane, Henderson, Touro, Girod, Milne, Girard, Poydras and Lafon.

ODD NAMES OF STREETS.

As names lacked, resort was had to the forces of nature and attributes, so we find such odd names given the streets as Genius, Force, Virtue, Law, Industry, Agriculture, Abundance, Treasure, Benefits, Humanity and Pleasure.

It would take too much time to give the origin of the names of all our streets, but the fanciful names of some are curious, and thus we have Abundance, Virtue, Child, Brutus, Cato, Coculus,

Coffee, Dawn, Fox, Goslin, Rabbit, Fish, Duck, Savage, Mystery, Madmen, Otaheite, Mahomet, Goodchildren, Greatmen, Ne Plus Ultra, Last and finally Amen street near the lake.

From the names of our streets parents can certainly select pretty names for their progeny and not weigh them down with great names as Washington, Napoleon or Cæsar, but with such sweet sounding ones as Anne, Annette, Arabella, Blanche, Celeste, Celestine, Constance, Desiré, Eliza, Estelle, Felicia, Helena, Jeannette, Ida, Josephine, Julia, Léontine, Louisa, Octavia, Rose, Adeline and Rosine.

NAMES OF SUBURBS.

Carrollton was named after General Carroll, of the battle of New Orleans, whose troops camped in the site for several weeks in 1814-15. The Creole population called it Car-o-ton; many may think it was derived from the steam cars that connected it with the city but the population, in adopting the pronunciation seems to have come near being correct, as Carroll is a north of Ireland name and pronounced *Karrall*. Chalmette battle ground derives its name from the Chalmette family who owned the battle ground plantation.

On the other side of the Mississippi River Tunisburg and Algiers recall the scenes of Commodore Decatur's victories in Africa. Algiers was first called Slaughter House Point as the city slaughterhouse was situated there in 1814, but

afterwards it was known from the owners of site as Duverjeville. Tradition has it that a prominent merchant of New Orleans (J. W. Zacharie), one day, returning from an inspection of his vessels in the dock at that place took refuge in a barroom during a storm and the dock laborers placed a handkerchief across the door as a sign to not let him out until he treated the crowd. At that time the country was thrilled with the exploits of Decatur against the Algerine pirates. so the merchant yielded to their demand to treat, calling them a pack of Algiers pirates. The name pleased them, and with many a bumper the town was christened Algiers, a name which it still retains, although legally known as the 5th Municipal District of New Orleans.

McDonoghville was where old John McDonogh, whose name is perpetuated in the handsome school houses of our city, lived and died in the early 50's.

Gouldsboro, the terminus of the Texas and Pacific Ry. Co., was called after Jay Gould, the deceased railway magnate.

Gretna, in the Parish of Jefferson, was probably called after Gretna Green of the Scotch border town, famous for its runaway marriages, and its Louisiana namesake is often used for the same purpose.

Mechanicsville, a portion of Gretna, laid out by N. N. Destrehan, was designed for a manufacturing village.

Westwego, a combination of three words, was to be a starting point of a railroad, West-wego.

West End, the favorite resort in Summer, was opened in the 70's, and so named being at the West End of the railroad. Spanish Fort received its name from the old brick fort built by the Spaniards at the mouth of Bayou St. John. Milneburg owes its name to Alexander Milne, a philanthropic Scotchman, who left a large fortune to the poor, most of it consisting of swamp lots in Milneburg, which he expected would become very valuable. Milne lived to be ninety years old, the greater part of the time being in the swamps, which he declared to be very healthy.

WHEN NEW ORLEANS MADE ITS GREATEST STRIDES.

New Orleans made its greatest strides in improvements between 1830 and 1840, when there was a great tide of immigration; the West was not developed by railroads leading to the Atlantic seaboard, so that an unsurpassed 19,000 miles of river navigation was tributary to the port, from which the great products of the rich Mississippi Valley were distributed to all parts of the world. At that time she ranked as the third city of importance in the Union, and in 1836 her banking capital reached \$34,000,000, and her annual exports in 1835 amounted to \$53,000,000. The buildings equalled in structure and style those of New York,

and her hotels, the St. Charles and the St. Louis, were the largest and most splendid, not only in the United States, but in the world, so much so, that the name of St. Charles became the synonym in the United States for luxurious living. The arts of music and painting, with an exquisite social refinement made her renowned as the Paris of America. An infusion of new blood from the Middle and Eastern States gave her a spirit of enterprise, while the Latin blood of its early inhabitants softened the manners of the population of the ancient metropolis of the South. The city spread over a vast area, its commerce increased by great bounds as if touched by a magic wand. Then came the construction of the canals and railroads to divert the trade of the West to the Atlantic seaboard, the decline of navigation, numerous epidemics of yellow fever which caused our commerce to wither away as a tree no longer watered, and made the tide of immigration to roll over us into Texas, until to-day, by the census of 1890, New Orleans ranks but as the twelfth city in the Union.

FUTURE OF NEW ORLEANS.

We are, ladies and gentlemen, in the dawn of the twentieth century, at the forking of the road of our municipal life as a great city, one of which leads to prosperity and the other to adversity which means a shrinkage in values, a descent in rank and the disastrous ruin to our people. Shall we strive to arrest it and how shall we do it? We

have a magnificent port, capable of holding in perfect safety, the commerce of the world; a mild climate in which manufacturing can be carried on the whole year; a great river still flowing at our front with its 19,000 miles of navigation reaching nearly to the Rocky Mountains; an inland sea at our back to bring commerce to our doors, and healthy winds to sweep away miasma; great iron bands of railroads marrying us to the outside world; a country around us where the soil is the richest on the globe and with the works of sanitation and drainage being constructed. We should not despair but put our shoulders to the wheel, avail ourselves of these great advantages, carry out sanitary works so that the yellow fever will forever be exterminated. We must not rely on our past; we must banish old foggy notions and start manufacturing enterprises, recognize that the slow river navigation is no longer wanted, but fast railroads and welcome four or five new lines to our city by liberal encouragement.

When we have thus burned behind us our ships of prejudice and started on a new road, then will our city regain its former rank and its waste places build up. The dream of Bienville of a great city extending from the Mississippi River to Lake Pontchartrain will be realized.

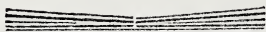
PROPHECY OF THE INDIAN MAIDEN.

The prophetic wail of the Indian maiden may come to pass as, in 1718, she beheld the French

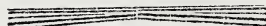
clearing the site of New Orleans, she sang:
"The Spirit tells me that the time will come when
between the river and the lake there will be as
many dwellings for the white man as there trees
standing now. The haunts of the red man are
doomed, and faint recollections and traditions con-
cerning the very existence of his race, will float
dimly over the memory of his successors as un-
substantial, as vague and obscure as the mist
which shrouds, on a winter morning, the bed of
the father of waters."

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SYNOPSIS OF THE BUSINESS TRANSACTED IN THE MEETINGS

—OF THE—

Louisiana Historical Society,

...1900-1901...

FEBRUARY 20TH, 1900.

The society held its regular monthly meeting on Tuesday afternoon, in the room of the Fisk Free and Public Library in order to open formally to the public its exhibit of maps, documents, and historical relics, collected and arranged in the room of the Artists' Association, loaned for the purpose.

The president of the society made a short address, introducing the mayor of New Orleans, the Hon. Walter C. Flower, who in an earnest speech thanked the society for the good work it was doing in the city and State, and commended the present occasion, not only for what it was in itself, the first exhibit of historical documents held in the city, but for the promise included in it, of a permanent museum to be maintained in the city. Before the public meeting, the members of the society met for the annual election of officers. It resulted in the re-election of all as follows: ALCEE FORTIER, *President*; GUSTAVE DEVRON, *First Vice-President*; JOHN R. FICKLEN, *Second Vice-President*; J. W. CRUZAT, *Treasurer*; GRACE KING, *Secretary*; CHAS. G. GILL, *Assistant Secretary*.

MARCH 21ST, 1900.

The society met Wednesday night in Tulane Hall. After the usual routine of business, the following report was read by Mr. Henry Favrot, secretary of the committee in charge of the Colonial exhibit.

New Orleans, La., March 21, 1900.

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, CITY:

The committee of ten who have had charge of the exhibit that was held under the auspices of this society at the Fisk Library during the month of February last, in presenting the financial report that has already been tendered to the proper officers, begs leave further to report that they have met with what they consider extraordinary success for a first attempt on these lines, and the possibilities for a loan collection or exhibit, or the possibilities for the stocking of a museum on the loan plan in the city of New Orleans have proven themselves almost unlimited. The committee has found that there are valuable manuscripts, papers and prints, as well as valuable objects, the existence of which was absolutely unknown, and that they seem in every sense available for placing in a safe depository if one could be secured for that purpose.

The exhibit rooms were opened on Tuesday, the 20th of February, and remained open until the 5th of March, and during that period it was visited by upwards of three thousand persons.

Your committee begs to report that it was very seriously handicapped by conditions; it had not the means to advertise the exhibit, or to give it that publicity which it should have had to increase the attendance to great numbers; but the committee feels, nevertheless, very much encouraged at its first undertaking, and feels, too, that it has acquired experience in such matters that will be valuable another time.

Your committee understands that there have been pointed suggestions made relative to the erection of a colonial and historical museum, and thinks it would be wise for a committee from this society of three members to be appointed to confer with such parties as may have this object in view.

Respectfully,

H. L. FAVROT, *Secretary.*

According to a resolution introduced by Mr. Zacharie, a committee of three was appointed to consider the creation of a State Museum.

The attention of the society being called to the recent action in Congress in the matter of an appropriation for the St. Louis Celebration of the Centennial of the Cession of Louisiana, it was suggested that President Fortier should communicate with our Congressmen, Gen. Meyer and Mr. Davey, asking them to represent the interests of our State, in the event that an appropriation for such a celebration should be made.

The essay of the evening was a sketch of Gen. G. T. Beauregard by his son, Judge R. T. Beauregard.

APRIL 18TH, 1900.

President Fortier announced officially to the society the

death on March 24th, 1900, of the society's first vice-president, Dr. Gustave Devron, and gave the following biographical notice of him:

Dr. Devron was one of the most zealous and useful members of our society, and contributed a number of important papers to our publications. He made a thorough study of the history of colonial Louisiana, and his researches have thrown great light on some obscure points of our history. His papers on Pierre Margry and Etienne Viel, on Aubry, his "History of Medicine in Louisiana," his "Portraits of Columbus," are valuable contributions to American History.

Dr. Devron was born in New Orleans, on November 13th, 1835, and was educated partly in this city, in St. Louis, and in the celebrated College Chaptal, Paris. He taught school on his return from France in 1853, and then studied medicine. He was an excellent physician, and was for a time member of the State Board of Health. He was also a member of the City Council from 1884 to 1888.

Dr. Devron took a great interest in the French language and literature, and was the first vice-president of the Athénée Louisianais, before which he read a number of papers on Natural History, and on the History of Louisiana.

President Fortier presented to the society the manuscript of an historical work, by Dr. Devron; the doctor having confided the paper to him, for this purpose, some time before his death.

Prof. John R. Ficklen was elected to succeed Dr. Gustave Devron, as first vice-president; Hon. James S. Zacharie was elected second vice-president, in succession to Prof. Ficklen.

MAY 16TH, 1900.

According to a previous action, President Fortier appointed the following committee, to bring before the Legislature, the question of the State's co-operating with the society in the centennial celebration of the Cession of Louisiana: Judge Fred D. King, Messrs. Soniat, Thompson, Zacharie, and Dupré.

A paper was read by Judge William H. Seymour on the

"Ice Floe in the Mississippi River in 1899." Judge Seymour presented to the society a photograph of the river at that time.

Prof. Ficklen gave a short talk on the extent of the Louisiana Purchase. A discussion ensued as to whether Texas was included in the purchase.

JUNE 20TH, 1900.

Judge Fred D. King reported that a resolution relative to the Centennial Celebration of the Cession of Louisiana had been introduced in the Legislature of Louisiana by the Hon. T. H. Thorpe.

The following is the text of the resolution which subsequently passed the Legislature of Louisiana, Act No. 14 of 1900:

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION, No. 8—By MR. THORPE

WHEREAS, Within the next four years, within the term of the present Legislature and officers of the State government, that is, on the 20th day of December, 1903, will occur the centennial of the actual transfer of the territory of Louisiana to the United States.

WHEREAS, The cession and transfer was one of the most important events in the history of the United States and of this State, affecting the National domain by adding thereto territory three and one-half times as large as the original thirteen colonies; enlarging it from an area of 827,000 square miles to an area of 3,600,000 square miles; enlarging the government from a mere fringe of territory on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean to an area bounded on the North by Great Britain, on the West and South by Spain, and on the East by the Atlantic; thus enabling the United States to take abroad a proud position among the sovereign nations of the earth; to assume possession of the Mississippi River and insure unimpeded and uncontrolled passage of commerce through the great waterway of the country to the Gulf of Mexico; to assert and maintain on this continent the principles of republican government.

WHEREAS, The consummation of this important National political event, the official act of transfer, took place in the State of Louisiana, in the City of New Orleans, in the "Cabildo" of the Spanish domination, in the building now occupied by the Supreme Court of Louisiana; and the transfer announced to the people of Louisiana, assembled in the "Place d'Arms," now Jackson Square, in the City of New Orleans, where the flag of the United States was for the first time officially raised over this territory, and the flags of France and Spain lowered forever.

WHEREAS, The liberties and principles of free government by the people of Louisiana were secured in the act of cession and transfer and reception into the United States, with the rights and privileges of a sovereign State in an aggregated free republic; *be it therefore Resolved by the Senate, the House of Representatives Concurring*, That the State of Louisiana do recognize the great and solemn importance of this

event in the history of the United States, and in that of this State, and will, in commemoration of it, celebrate the 20th day of December, 1903, the centennial anniversary of the official transfer; *be it further Resolved*, That the Louisiana Historical Society be authorized to adopt a program of ceremonies fitting the dignity of the State, and the importance of the event, to be submitted to the Governor and the Legislature, at its next session, for the appropriate celebration of the day; that our Senators and Representatives in Congress be requested to secure the co-operation of the Federal government therein, in order that National participation in and commemoration of one of the greatest achievements of the government in our National history be secured and due celebration be thereby made which shall be worthy of the occasion."

Miss Grace King read a paper on some documents relative to the West Florida War, recently presented to the Society by Mr. H. H. Brooks.

OCTOBER 17TH, 1900.

The regular monthly meetings of the society were resumed after the Summer vacation. After the usual official business was disposed of President Fortier called the attention of the society to the question of forming branch societies in the country parishes. He showed a circular that had been sent out several years ago; although it had met with poor results, only one society having been formed, and that one in Natchitoches proving short-lived, he thought another attempt should be made.

The society authorized the president to prepare and send out circulars, into the various parishes, calling attention to the approaching Centennial Celebration, and asking for co-operation in it; and appealing for a more active interest generally in the history of the State.

President Fortier gave an informal account of his researches during the Summer in the archives of France, and of his finding therein much new and unpublished material throwing light on the early history of Louisiana. President Fortier read copies he had made of some of these documents, but he urged the necessity of the society's taking steps at once towards securing publication of the completed series. President Fortier was requested by the society to communicate with the different Historical Societies of the States of the Mississippi Valley, asking them to join in a movement to

obtain the publication of the documents by the United States Government.

NOVEMBER 21ST, 1900.

President Fortier reported that he had drawn up the following circular to send to the country parishes, according to the request of the society:

DEAR SIR: The Louisiana Historical Society, established in 1836 and incorporated in 1860, was re-organized by an act of the Legislature, approved April 30th, 1877. Your attention is respectfully called to the following sections and parts of sections of the act, No. 108, 1877, extra session:

"Sec. 2. Be it further enacted, etc., That the object of this Society shall be the collecting and preserving facts, documents, records and memorials relating to the natural, aboriginal and civil history of this State."

"Sec. 6. Be it further, enacted, etc., That branches of the State Society may be formed in any part of the State."

By the Legislature of 1900, act No. 14, the Society was authorized to prepare a programme for the celebration in 1903 of the Centennial of the Louisiana purchase. In view of the greatness and importance of this event in the history of the country and of our State, we earnestly urge you to collaborate with us in preparing such a celebration as will be worthy of the occasion, and to this end request you to organize in your parish a branch Historical Society so that you may thus assist us and also be officially represented in whatever programme we may adopt.

Very respectfully yours,

A. FORTIER. *President.*

President Fortier read the paper of the evening, a sketch of General Victor. The society approved the following forms of communication to be addressed to the various governors, and the memorial to be signed by them and sent to Congress:

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

New Orleans, December 5th, 1900.

MY DEAR SIR: On a recent visit to Paris I was authorized by the Librarian and Keeper of Archives at the Ministry of the Colonies to make researches into the papers relating to the history of Louisiana. I found among them a number of volumes containing documents of the highest importance, hitherto unpublished.

When the attention of the Louisiana State Historical Society was called to the matter, at a meeting held on November 21st, 1900, a resolution was adopted to send a Memorial to Congress praying that these volumes be published by the United States Government, and that the said Memorial be signed by the presidents of all the Historical Societies in the States formed out of the original province of Louisiana, and by the Governors of these States.

I have the honor to enclose the Memorial. As the time is short before the meeting of Congress, you are respectfully urged to sign it at once and to forward it to the Governor of your State with such recommendation as will secure his prompt attention and action.

The approaching celebration of the Centennial of the Cession of Louisiana has awakened public interest in the history of this great acquisition of territory by the United States, and the moment, therefore, seems very opportune for presenting the matter to Congress and obtaining data of inestimable value to the whole country.

Hoping, my dear sir, that I shall soon receive a favorable reply from you, I am, very respectfully yours,

A. FORTIER, *President.*

MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS.

To the Honorable the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States:

The undersigned Governors of the States of the Mississippi Valley and the presidents of the Historical Societies of the same States respectfully present this Memorial and ask for the publication by the United States of certain documentary records relating to the history of the Mississippi Valley, especially of the vast territory acquired by the purchase of 1803. These records are contained in a series of volumes in the archives of the Ministry of the Colonies, Paris, France, and consist of hitherto unpublished correspondence, orders, proclamations, official reports, grants of lands and privileges, the registration of births, marriages and deaths, censuses, financial accounts, and various other data of great interest and importance to students and historians.

Several times during revolutionary uprisings in Paris these archives were in danger of being destroyed; notably in 1871, by the Communists. In the event of such destruction the loss would be irreparable.

We respectfully petition that Congress have these records copied and an edition printed for distribution as public documents among the universities, colleges, libraries, historical and other learned societies of the United States, and that an appropriation be made for the purpose.

Liste des documents concernant la Louisiane conservés aux Archives Coloniales (Ministère des Colonies, Pavillon de Flore, Paris.)

Série C—C 13.

Correspondance Générale, Louisiane.

Division Chronologique.

Registre

1. 1678-1706.
2. 1707-1712.
3. 1713-1715. M. de la Motte-Cadillac, gouverneur.
4. 1716. " " "
5. 1717-1719. M. de Lépinay, gouverneur.

6. 1720-1722. M. de Bienville, gouverneur.
7. 1723. M. de la Chaise, ordonnateur.
8. 1724-1725. M. de Bienville, gouverneur.
9. 1726. M. de Boisbriant, lieutenant du Roy.
10. 1726-1727. M. Perrier, gouverneur.
11. 1728-1729. " "
12. 1729-1730. " "
13. 1731. " "
14. 1732. " et Mémoires et Projets.
15. 1732. M. Salmon, ordonnateur-Fonctionnaires divers.
16. 1733. M. M. Perrier et de Bienville, gouverneurs.
17. 1733. M. Salmon, ordonnateur-Fonctionnaires divers.
18. 1734. M. de Bienville, gouverneur.
19. 1734. M. Salmon, ordonnateur.
20. 1735. M. de Bienville, gouverneur.
21. 1736. " "
22. 1737. " "
23. 1738. " "
24. 1739. M. de Bienville, gouverneur.
25. 1740. " "
26. 1741. " "
27. 1742. " "
28. 1743-1744. M. M. de Bienville et de Vaudreuil,
gouverneurs.
29. 1745. M. de Vaudreuil, gouverneur.
30. 1746. " "
31. 1747. " "
32. 1748. " "
33. 1749. " "
34. 1749-1750. M. Michel, ordonnateur; M. de Vaudreuil,
gouverneur.
35. 1751. M. de Vaudreuil, gouverneur.
36. 1752. MM. de Vaudreuil et de Kerlerec, gouverneurs.
37. 1753. " " "
38. 1754. M. de Kerlerec, gouverneur.
39. 1755-1757. " "
40. 1758. " "
41. 1759. " "

- 42. 1760-1761. M. de Rochemore, ordonnateur.
- 43. 1762-1763. M. de Kerlerec, gouverneur.
- 44. 1764. " "
- 45. 1765. M. Aubry, commandant.
- 46. 1766. " "
- 47. 1767. " "
- 48. 1768. " "
- 49. 1769. " "
- 50. 1770-1788.
- 51. 1795-1802.
- 52. 1803.
- 53. 1804-1819.
- 1803. Amérique du Nord—Préparatifs pour la reprise
de possession de la Louisiane.
- 1792-1807. Projets de Madgett—Louisiane, Isthmes-
Américains, etc.
- 1699-1773. Deuxième Série, Correspondance Générale
Louisiane.

DIVERS.

- 1767. Mémoires et projets—Renseignements divers.
Documents non datés.
- 1699-1724. Postes de la Louisiane.
- 1695-1736. Entreprises de Cavelier de la Salle—Lacs
et Mississippi.
- 1718-1731. Postes de la Louisiane.

Outre ces documents qui font partie de la série dite de la Correspondance Générale c'est à dire de la correspondance des gouverneurs avec la métropole, il existe encore aux archives coloniales des documents qui intéressent l'histoire de la Louisiane. Ce sont.

- 1. 1 registre d'Etat civil—1720 à 1730.
- 2. 2 cartons de Recensements.
- 3. La correspondance de la métropole avec les gouverneurs
(Série B. dite des ordres du Roi.)

*Le sous chef de bureau archiviste bibliothécaire.
Paris ce 10 aout 1900. Victor Tantet.*

La plus importante collection, tant au point de vue de la quantité que de l'intérêt des documents, est sans contredit la Correspondance Generale.

DECEMBER 19TH, 1900.

Madame Louise Augustin Fortier read an essay on "The College of Orleans as it is and as it was."

Mr. Stephen Henderson Allison read a sketch of Stephen Henderson, the philanthropist, giving his will.

Hon. James S. Zacharie read a paper on the Municipal History of New Orleans, from 1885 to 1900.

JANUARY 16TH, 1901.

Miss Grace King read a letter from the Comtesse de St. Roman, relating to the papers in the Clermont Tonnerre family, the descendants of the family of the former governor of Louisiana, the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

President Fortier reported that the governors of the following States have signed and returned the Memorial sent to them: Louisiana, Texas, Washington, Wyoming, Colorado, Kansas, Minnesota, Indiana, Mississippi; and it had been signed by the presidents of the Historical Societies of all the States in which such societies were organized.

President Fortier read extracts from some unpublished letters of Laussat, and a letter from Villars, describing the unprecedented cold weather in Louisiana in 1784. He had copied them from the originals in the archives of the Ministère des Colonies, Paris, France.

FEBRUARY 29th, 1901.

Prof. John R. Ficklen read extracts from his forthcoming article in the Southern Historical Magazine on the boundaries of the territory comprised in the Louisiana Purchase. His arguments went to prove that Texas was not included in it.

A paper on the Natchez Indians, by Mrs. C. H. Burton, of Meridian, Miss., was read by President Fortier. Mrs. Burton also sent for inspection to the society some interesting relics of the Natchez Indians.

In the annual election all the officers were re-elected.

MARCH 20th, 1901.

A letter from Mr. I. H. Weeks, of Stonnington, Conn., was read offering to the society a number of books and pamphlets relating to the History of Louisiana.

The following Bill, introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman Meyer, February 23d, 1901, was read to the society:

A BILL

To provide for celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the purchase of the Louisiana Territory, in the city of New Orleans, and so forth.

Whereas it is fit and appropriate that the one hundredth anniversary of the purchase of the Louisiana Territory be commemorated by suitable ceremonies in the city and State where transfer of said Louisiana Territory was officially made; and

Whereas the legislature of the State of Louisiana has passed an act resolving that the State of Louisiana do recognize the great and solemn importance of this event in the history of the United States and in that of the State of Louisiana, and will in commemoration thereof celebrate the twentieth day of December, nineteen hundred and three, the centennial anniversary of the official transfer; and

Whereas said legislature of the State of Louisiana has further resolved that the Louisiana Historical Society be authorized to adopt a programme fitting the dignity of the State and the importance of the event, to be submitted to the government and legislature at its next session for the appropriate celebration of the day, and further requesting that the Senators and Representatives of Louisiana in Congress secure the co-operation of the Federal Government therein in order that national participation be secured, and due celebration be thereby made, which shall be worthy of the occasion; Therefore,

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of*
 2 *the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the*
 3 *sum of twenty-five thousand dollars is hereby appropriated, out of*
 4 *any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be exp-*
 5 *ended under direction of the officers and board of managers of the*
 6 *Louisiana Historical Society for the purposes and objects herein-*
 7 *before set forth.*

The Bill was referred to the Special Committee on Centennial, etc.

Mrs. D. A. S. Vaught read a paper on "Princess Charlotte of Wolfenbuttel, wife of the Czarowitz, the son of Peter the Great," who, according to tradition, escaped from Russia to Louisiana and married there.

H. L. Favrot, Esq., read a few running extracts from the book he is preparing on the documents relating to the Louisiana transfer.

APRIL 10TH, 1901.

On the Hon. James S. Zacharie's motion, that a committee of nine be appointed to arrange a programme for the reception of President McKinley, President Fortier named the following members: Hon. James S. Zacharie, Miss Grace King, Miss Amélie Denegre, Messrs. J. R. Ficklen, W. W. Howe, T. McC. Hyman, Charles T. Soniat, H. L. Favrot, T. P. Thompson.

Hon. Adolph Meyer addressed the society on the celebration of the Louisiana Cession to be held in New Orleans. He promised for himself, and in the name of Congressman Davey, to do all that was in their power to obtain an appropriation from Congress for the celebration. Also that he would work to secure the necessary appropriation for the publication of the documents concerning the history of Louisiana in the Archives of the Ministère des Colonies, Paris.

Prof. Ficklen read the following extracts from General Meyer's speech in Congress, advocating a celebration at New Orleans of the "Centennial of the Louisiana Purchase:"

THIS HISTORICAL INCIDENT SHOULD BE CELEBRATED AT
NEW ORLEANS.

"Without objecting, therefore, in any degree to the bill of the committee as drawn, and with a very high appreciation of their work and labors, I must call your attention to the fact that an industrial exposition, especially one of a national and international character, while it may illustrate the grand and beneficent consequences of this act of purchase, is not fairly and distinctly a celebration of the historical incident, the historical event. For example: When you celebrated the centennial of the Declaration of Independence you celebrated it not at New York or Washington City, but at Philadelphia, where the Declaration was penned and published to the world. A proposition to hold it elsewhere would not have been entertained.

"The formation of the Federal Constitution—where will you celebrate it save in the city where it was framed and agreed on? The inauguration of the Federal Government—our first Administration of Washington—you held it in New York, where it happened. The centennial of the victory of Yorktown, which in effect ended our long struggle for independence—how absurd to have celebrated it at Richmond, or Baltimore, or New York, or any other place than the very field, the identical spot, where the American and French forces led by Washington compelled the surrender of Cornwallis? You would not celebrate the landing of the pilgrims at New Haven, at Providence, or even at Boston, but exactly where it occurred. The first settlement of the Old Dominion—the earliest of all our colonies—would you celebrate it at Richmond, or at Jamestown? These questions supply their own answers.

"I hold, therefore, and maintain that in addition to this grand proposed exposition, national and international, to be held at St. Louis, which has already been determined upon, and as I believe most wisely, that there should be also a special historical celebration of the actual transfer of this vast province of Louisiana at the very spot where the transfer of sovereignty from the civil and military authorities of France to those of the United States actually occurred. That was in the city of New Orleans, the capital city of Louisiana—the entire province.

THE CAPITAL OF THE GREAT PROVINCE OF LOUISIANA.

Here was the capital of this vast Province of Louisiana. Here and in the immediate vicinity was the great bulk of the population of the province, and here was its seat of commerce. In 1803 the population of New Orleans was 10 000 souls. The city was already an important seaport. Some 265 loaded vessels sailed in 1802 from the harbor, with a tonnage of 31,241. The increase of tonnage in 1803 was 37 per cent. The exports were \$2,000,000, and the imports were two and a half millions.

Of the province of Louisiana, outside of the present State boundary, little was even known. The savage tribes roamed unmolested over that vast domain—hunted, fished, fought, lived, and died. Here and there were small settlements. On the day that France made formal delivery of the province St. Louis and the adjacent districts had a population of less than 3,000.

Even in the year 1810, some seven years after the country had been thrown open to American settlement under the American flag, the population of St. Louis was less than 1,500. St. Louis was first established as a trading post in February, 1764, and the progress of the town or city for a long time was exceedingly slow. The real, magnificent growth of St. Louis has been only in the past fifty or sixty years. That it will be one of the greatest of our American cities no man can doubt—perhaps the greatest, as the seat of a great manufacturing industry, for which it has marked advantages—but at this time (1803) the place was insignificant.

The present city of New Orleans was founded in 1718 and was made the capital of the province of Louisiana by Governor Bienville in 1722, over forty years before the establishment of the trading post at St. Louis, which some years hence will welcome the industries of the civilized world to its portals and generous hospitality. [Applause.]

It seems to me, therefore, that in addition to your grand and costly exposition of industry at St. Louis it is eminently a fitting duty for us to celebrate in some appropriate manner the historical event—the actual realization of the great and noble dream of Jefferson and the patriots of that day, the formal transfer of the province, the raising of the American flag where that of France and Spain had so long floated, as a token that henceforth the power of the new Republic of the west, its commerce and industry, were to be paramount in that grand outlet of the States of the Mississippi Valley.

The amount of money necessary for such a historical celebration would be trifling in comparison with what you propose to expend in aid of the noble St. Louis project. I suggest this in the interest of the coming celebration—to give it completeness, finality and dignity. To attempt to celebrate this great and interesting historical transfer of sovereignty in any distant city would be illogical, inappropriate, and

grotesque. The history of Louisiana—it is written and will stand. It is full of interest, romance, adventure, heroism, suffering and dignity. You can not blot it out, even if you desired to do so. You can not obscure it.

The story of this grand tradition of a mighty province to our dominion as a people; the rescue of the soil from the floods and its consecration to the purposes of industry and commerce; the victory of New Orleans in 1815; the valor of the sons of Louisiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the West; the fame of Jackson—these events and many more that live in story and song and can not perish from our thoughts all admonish you to render this simple, natural act of justice. [Applause.]

MAY 15TH, 1901.

The Committee on the Reception to President McKinley at the Cabildo, May 2, 1901, submitted its report; a vote of thanks was passed to individuals and societies that had assisted the Historical Society in the preparation for the reception. Letters were read from various persons expressing regret at not being able to be present; also a card from Mrs. McKinley was read, thanking the ladies of the Louisiana Historical Society for flowers sent to her.

Mr. James M. Augustin presented the society in the name of the *Picayune* with a copy of the fac simile of the document signed by President McKinley, the Judges of the Supreme Court of Louisiana and others, on the day of the reception at the Cabildo. Mr. Charles T. Soniat presented to the society the gold fountain pen used by President McKinley on that occasion.

La Comtesse de Brunel, a member of the Clermont Tonnere family, the descendants of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, presented to the society a manuscript copy of the genealogy of the Vaudreuil family.

Madame la comtesse de St. Roman presented the society with two original documents pertaining to the Revolutionary War.

Professor Fortier communicated a letter that he had received from M. Tantet, Librarian of the Archives of the Ministère des Colonies, Paris, relative to the copying of the documents in the archives belonging to the history of Louisiana.

The paper of the evening entitled, "The Problem of La-Salle's Landing," was contributed by Prof. John R. Ficklen.

JUNE 12TH, 1901.

President Fortier was instructed to invite the American Historical Society to hold its annual meeting of 1903 in New Orleans.

Mr. Renshaw read a paper on "The Louisiana Ursulines."

President Fortier closed the meeting with a short address on the work accomplished during the year.

OCTOBER 16TH, 1901.

The society met at Tulane Hall, at 8 P. M. President Fortier presided.

The following members were elected: John Dymond, Jr., Pierre Crabites and Prof. Morton A. Aldrich. Letters were read from the Pontalba and Brunel families of Paris, promising to send to the society valuable historical documents. Mr. Henry Renshaw on behalf of the Ursuline Convent in New Orleans, presented to the society a copy of the treaty of 1726, under which the Ursulines came to Louisiana.

Mr. G. Cusachs gave an interesting account of a Bible Society established in New Orleans in 1813, and stated that the Bible Society was assisted in distributing the bibles by Père Antonio de Sedella.

Mr. T. P. Thompson gave the society a photograph of President McKinley at the Cabildo. Mr. Thompson also gave the society an in memoriam card containing photos of the heroes of September 14, 1874.

Hon. J. S. Zacharie presented memorial resolutions on the death of President McKinley. These were adopted.

Mr. W. H. Seymour exhibited an order signed by Carondelet.

President Fortier recommended that the society make an exhibit at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis.

NOVEMBER 20, 1901.

The regular monthly meeting was held in Tulane Hall, President Fortier presided. The following members were

elected : Messrs. J. P. Blair, B. W. Kernan, E. B. Kruttschnitt, H. J. Leovy, Victor Leovy, T. M. Miller, W. S. Parkerson, M. B. Trezevant, Dr. T. S. Dabney, Judges Joseph A. Breaux and George H. Theard.

Messrs. H. L. Favrot, G. Cusachs and J. R. Ficklen were appointed a committee to decide what documents the Society should have copied from the MS. volume (1803), in the archives of the Ministère des Colonies, Paris.

Judge W. H. Seymour read an interesting historical paper, "The Notary in Louisiana."

[December 18, 1901. The meeting was postponed to January 15, 1902.]

"THE STATE SEAL."

(A LECTURE BY HENRY L. FAVROT.)

It was on the 31st of October, 1803, that Thomas Jefferson signed an act authorizing the occupation of that great and extended territory purchased from the French Government, and known by the name of Louisiana. That act simply provided for the occupation of the territory and that all civil, military and judicial powers exercised by the existing Government shall be vested in such persons as the President of the United States may direct; but all the while protecting the inhabitants in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and religion.

On the 26th of March, 1804, the same distinguished President of the United States approved an act of Congress providing for the erection of Louisiana into two territories, and for the temporary government thereof; and this act goes further in its provisions by making the legislative power vested in the Governor and in thirteen of the most fit and discreet persons in the territory, to be called the Legislative Council and to be appointed annually by the President of the United States from those holding real estate therein, and who shall have resided one year at least in the said territory. The southern portion of Louisiana, by the terms of this act, was called the Territory of Orleans, and with it only, that afterwards became the State of Louisiana, is it my purpose to deal. The Governor, with the advice of this Legislative Council, or a majority of

them, had the power to alter, modify or repeal the laws in force in the territory; and, in fact, they had practically the power to do almost anything.

This Council was composed of the thirteen persons whose qualifications are set forth and designated in the act of Congress. It convened in the City of New Orleans on Monday, the 3rd of December, 1804, and elected as President of the Council, no less a person than Julien Poydras.

The Council remained in session several months and, on the 19th of April, 1805, passed an act providing for a public seal for the Government of the Territory of Orleans and for other purposes, and that act provides that "the better to authenticate the acts of the Government of the Territory of Orleans, there shall be a public seal thereof, with such device and inscription as the Governor shall determine on, an impression whereof shall be affixed to all official acts executed under his signature, except the laws of the Territory". The Governor's private secretary was made the official sealer of all acts and keeper of the seal.

As a result of this legislation, it would seem that the Governor has chosen a public seal and that, therefore, that seal in use during his whole tenure and until after the adoption of the first Constitution of the State of Louisiana, must have been the result of his choice under the terms of this act. That seal was the great American eagle, (No. 1), such as we have often seen him pictured, erect, and exposing the full amplitude of his breast and pinions in the peculiarly constrained position that he often appears on the American shield; but bearing in his beak a laurel wreath which encircles his head. That is the first seal under the American Government.

The Constitution of the State of Louisiana, adopted in 1812, in the schedule thereof, and in Section 5, provides: "The Governor of this State shall make use of his private seal until a State seal shall be procured." It seems an open question here as to whether it was the intention of the members of the Constitution to continue in force the seal previously chosen by the Governor as the Territorial seal, or whether the Governor had a personal seal for his personal use that it was the intention to

bring into requisition temporarily. There is not, in the public records of this State, one syllable to explain this matter; and there is not, in the public records of this State, one specimen of a seal ante-dating the Civil War. All of these that I produce here to-night, through the kindness of the gentleman managing this stereopticon, belong to my personal and private collection, and are the result of personal expenditure as well as of family transmissions.

As a consequence of the clause in the Constitution of the State in 1812—that is, from the date of the adoption of that Constitution and the admission of the State into the Union on the 30th of April of that year, until the 23rd of December, 1813—the State of Louisiana had no seal, except that which the wish or the caprice of the Governor may have chosen as personal to himself. It is true that the Governor could have stamped an elephant on the paper, designated it as his private seal and said: "This is the seal of the State." No legislation has subsequently changed this extraordinary condition, and in this respect the State has been woefully and singularly un-American.

On the 23rd of December, 1813, the Legislature passed an act—designated as the No. 5—for the purpose of authenticating the acts of the Government of the State, that "the State Government shall be provided with a public seal, with such device and inscription as the Governor may direct", and the Secretary of State was made custodian of that seal; and the act makes further provision in relation to necessary charges for the affixing of the seal to public documents, excepting always any charges to be made when affixed to civil or military commissions.

Between the date of the admission of the State into the Union and the date of the act of the Legislature, the State of Louisiana seems to have had no seal, and it would seem there was no device, except, of course, such as the Governor might have chosen. But I have a commission, dated the 28th of June, 1813, and upon that commission is a bird that is presumably a pelican, with "Justice", a pair of scales, "Union and Confidence"; and that bird, while it has been interpreted

to be a pelican (it is brought to us more through tradition than any authentic fact of its existence as being a pelican), has an eagle's head,—or perhaps it may more properly be called the head of a condor, and its body is a sort of nondescript. It is presumed, by this circumstance, that the Governor has chosen the pelican as his seal before the passage of the act of 1813; but what was the device on the seal he used from April, 1812, to June, 1813, is wrapped in complete and absolute mystery.

This seal of June, 1813, (No. 2), which has just been produced to you on this canvass, remained the seal of the State until 1864. A peculiar incident in connection with this had better be told.

Sometime ago I received a copy of the "Nashville Examiner", of date the 23rd October, 1813. In it is a short article that reads as follows: "A flat-boatman from New Orleans related us some news. Says he: 'The new State of Louisiana has chosen a pelican for its seal,' says he. 'It's because the pelican has the reputation of tearing its own flesh to feed its young. But,' says he, 'that is a mistake,' and further,' says he, 'it comes about because of the fact that a hunter down on the gulf found an old wounded pelican that was pecking at its breast and wound while her young were about her.' And the paper adds:" "The people of the new State have strange ideas." This squib, coupled with the other circumstances and traditions, leave but little doubt that the bird on the original seal was intended for a pelican.

There is an old legend that the pelican will tear her own breast to feed her offspring, but standard authority denies its authenticity. There seems to be no doubt—if tradition can be invoked for historical purposes—that this was a reason for Governor Claiborne's choice of that peculiar bird.

The first seal is represented with a nest full of young pelicans—perhaps a dozen—but subsequent seals have been changed to conform with the laws of natural history, for it is said the pelican only has three young.

There is no legal provision for any seals in the various departments of the State, except in the Judiciary. Acts of 1855 and 1868, better known as the "Judiciary Acts", provide

that the courts of this State shall adopt for their seal the seal of the State, with its inscription and the name of the court. Despite these laws, which remain in force until to-day, and are reproduced in the Revised Statutes of 1870, Sections 2021 and 3474, the highest court of our land has manifested a clear contempt of the legal mandate, by keeping continually before us the national eagle that was adopted as the seal of the Superior Court and passed into history as the seal of our Supreme Court, (No. 3). But the other courts throughout the State have generally followed the terms of the legal provisions, and the pelican adorns the die of each.

The Constitutions of 1845 and 1852 are silent concerning the State seal, and the Confederate Constitution is equally so; but the Constitution of 1864, by the terms of Art. 66, makes a provision that "all commissions shall be sealed with the State seal". But no provision is made for its device, and the general presumption is, the continuity of Governor Claiborne's choice. The only other department of the Government of the State in ante-bellum days, where I have been able to discover a seal that has not a pelican for its device, is in the Land Office, where the seal was an eagle, (No. 4), different from the Territorial and Supreme Court seals, and which I give you here. This remained the seal of the Land Office until a few years ago, when it was replaced by the pelican bird, (No. 5).

In 1861 the State of Louisiana seceded and became part of the Confederate Government; but, as has been recited, its seal remained unchanged. But, in 1864, after Governor Allen was elected Governor of the State of Louisiana, a new die was cast, a new seal made, and the clear, unquestioned pelican was brought forth, with the motto, "Justice, Union and Confidence", and a pair of scales, (No. 6,) and with many young pelicans in the nest. Governor Wells adopted a similar seal, with the head of a pelican reversed, (No. 7), with four young pelicans, and despite the fact that he exercised entirely different and distinct jurisdiction from Governor Allen. It would seem that the Governor has, at any time, the right to change the device and the inscription of the seal.

Sometime after the administration of Governor Wells the motto on the seal was changed from "Justice, Union and Confidence" to "Union, Justice and Confidence". It was thought by many that Governor Warmoth had authorized the change in the inscription of the seal, and it has been generally so given out; but I wrote him on the subject, and he assures me that he knows nothing of it. It is nevertheless a fact that from "Justice, Union and Confidence" it has been changed to "Union, Justice and Confidence".

Just before the war, another type of a seal came out on some of the official paper of the State. This is the seal of the flying pelican, with a nest full of young. And after the war there have been a number of seals and devices that have sprung up on every side, the authority and responsibility for which it is impossible to fix. The Adjutant General's office, during the time of General Beauregard's incumbency, adopted a seal with the motto, "Non Sibi Sed Suis". That seems to have no authority in the world, (Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11).

Almost all the seals in the various departments of the State Government have a pelican—some with three young, some with four, some with more. For instance: the Auditor's office with three young and "Justice, Union and Confidence", (No. 12); the Treasurer's office, with the head of the pelican reversed and three young, with "Justice, Union and Confidence", (No. 13); the Secretary of State (No. 14), the State seal itself, (No. 15) and unchanged since about 1870; while to-day the Adjutant General's office shows four young and no inscription, (No. 16), while the State seal of to-day shows the motto, the pelican, three young, and the scales are left off since about 1870. But the most remarkable of all these seals is the seal of the Superintendent of Education, (No. 17). Its subject is an educational one, and has nothing to do, apparently, with the seal of the State. It seems to have no specific authority in law, and it has been the seal for the last three administrations.

The Constitutions of 1868, 1879 and 1898 are silent on the question of the seal, and all of the acts of these subsequent years are equally so. Therefore, it would seem that whenever

it may suit the pleasure of the Governor to represent the State with a crawfish or a goose or any other device, he may do so. Perhaps neither of these devices would be other than typical, yet there is a certain association connected with the old historic seal, no matter how its origin or the *raison d'être* of its existence may be involved in mystery that has endeared it to all the people, and that has designated a specific name for our State.

It seems useless to change it; but, on the contrary, it would be well to engraft it more thoroughly and more firmly in the organic law of our land and make it a fixture forever. Then, too, if it has a symbolism it is the symbolism of a legend and a tradition that appeals strongly to the heart of every Louisianian. If the mother bird can tear her own breast, even in tradition, to feed her starving young, it is an apt suggestion of the sacrifice that the State may make for the benefit of her own children.

The suggestion may not be lost, if gratitude will only play its part or filial affection only demonstrate its force, and a certain sentiment or patriotism and State pride calls for the son to do for the mother everything that honor and filial affection calls for to insure her future peace, happiness and prosperity.

Since writing the above, I have found an old Catholic prayer book that belonged to a member of the first Legislature of the State of Louisiana in 1812, and in this prayer book is the picture of a pelican (?) as an emblem of self-sacrifice, that is identical with the peculiar nondescript pelican on the seal of June 28th, 1813. The population of the State being largely Catholic, the suggestion is irresistible that this Catholic emblem of self-sacrifice was urged and accepted by Governor Claiborne as very fitting.

H. L. FAVROT.



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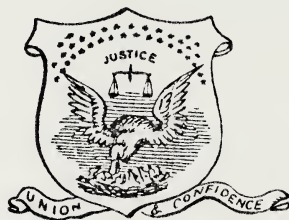
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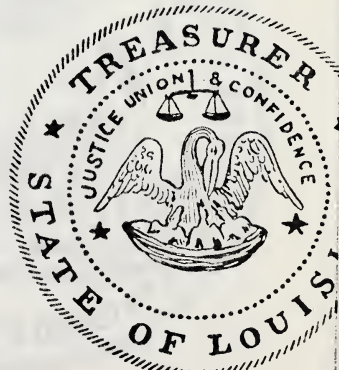
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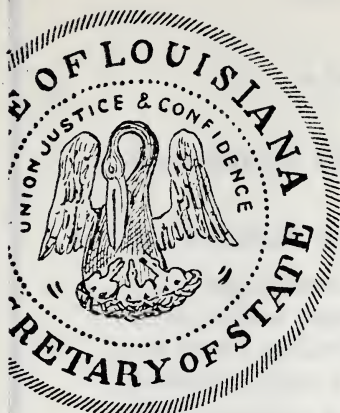
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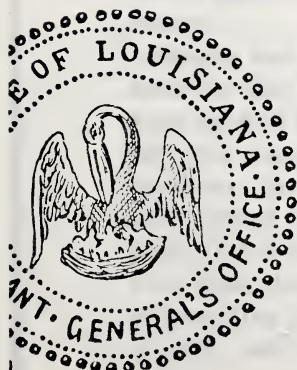
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THE LOUISIANA URSULINES.

A LECTURE BY HENRY RENSHAW.

READ BEFORE THE LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY JUNE 12,
1901.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

An organization which has nearly finished the third quarter of the second century since its establishment in New Orleans, and which, preserving its historic unity, has diffused and continues to diffuse a beneficial influence, is a subject deserving of the attention of those who are interested in the development of society.

It is, therefore, my purpose this evening to review, although necessarily but briefly, the history of the Louisiana Ursulines, and to refer to episodes by which their experiences have been diversified.

In the great work of extending civilization over this continent, the devoted women of the Order of St. Ursula have been gentle coadjutors; heroines vowed to the cross, and confronting danger, hardship and self-inflicted exile in the cause of humanity and knowledge.

With the story of Louisiana, that of this order is indissolubly entwined. No study of our people would be complete which neglected the services rendered by these self-sacrificing women.

Nearly one hundred and seventy-four years have elapsed since the date of their foundation at New Orleans. There was great need of facilities for instruction in Louisiana; the necessity was urgent with regard to female education. In some instances, the colonists whose fortunes permitted, sent their sons abroad to profit by the learning and enlightenment of France; but they were less willing to undergo such separation from their daughters. The Company of the Indies, desirous of providing for the care of the hospital and for the education of girls, concluded, in September, 1726, an agreement with



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the French Ursulines, whereby a community of the order of the latter was to be established at New Orleans. This undertaking received the royal approbation by brevet, dated the same month.

On January 12, 1727, those assigned to the Louisiana mission assembled in the Infirmary of the Ursulines at Hennebon, in Brittany, and there acknowledged, each in due order of precedence, the authority of Marie Tranchepain de St. Augustin as their Mother Superior.

Marie Tranchepain had been brought up among the advantages afforded by high social position. A convert to Catholicism, she was received into the Order of St. Ursula, became Soeur de St. Augustin, and aspired, with apostolic fervor, to engage in missionary enterprise. Her opportunity presented itself when the Jesuit Father de Beaubois was endeavoring to obtain a foundation of the Ursulines in Louisiana.

Tranchepain means Cut-Bread or Slice-Bread. Uncouth as the name may appear to casual attention, it has a rich significance and a latent grace of appropriateness. It may be deemed the equivalent of what has been considered to be the etymological signification of the word "lady".

Ruskin, in his lecture entitled "Of Queens' Gardens", (under the heading "Sesame and Lilies"), employs this language: "Lady means 'bread-giver' or 'loaf-giver', and Lord means 'maintainer of laws', and both titles have reference, not to the law which is maintained in the house, nor to the bread which is given to the household; but to law maintained for the multitude, and to bread broken among the multitude. So that a Lord has legal claim only to his title in so far as he is the maintainer of the justice of the Lord of Lords; and a Lady has legal claim to her title, only so far as she communicates that help to the poor representatives of her Master, which women once, ministering to Him of their substance, were permitted to extend to that Master Himself; and when she is known, as He Himself once was, in breaking of bread."

Thus the name of the Superior acknowledged by the new community at Hennebon, was not an unsuitable one. Her life was to be consumed in benevolent usefulness. She was to

divide a divine bread; to dispense a heavenly manna; to distribute intellectual, and moral, and spiritual nourishment to the multitude.

The community so organized, proceeded from Hennebon to L'Orient.

Madeleine Hachard, a novice in this community of Ursulines, delightfully describes, in her sprightly letters to her father, the preliminary and accompanying incidents of the departure of the Ursulines from France; the perils and vicissitudes of the voyage across the deep; the discomforts of their ascent of the Mississippi River, and the particulars of their life and occupations at New Orleans,—letters which are charming by the dominant note of a joyous personality.*

At L'Orient the Ursulines embarked upon the vessel called the Gironde, and in the afternoon of February 23, 1727, set sail. The weather was fair. Little progress had been made when the vessel struck upon a rock, but soon recovering from this misadventure, she stood out to sea,—a treasure-ship from the Old unto the New World.

The voyage was a protracted one. At length, at the expiration of five months from the day of departure from France, the ship conveying the Ursulines entered the Mississippi and lay off the Balize.

Mr. Devergès (not Duverger or Duvergé), the commandant for the Company at that place, promptly offered to the Ursulines the use of his dwelling while they waited for boats to take them to New Orleans. Accordingly, on the 26th of July they quit the vessel in which they had traversed the Atlantic, and entering a boat proceeded toward the hospitable quarters of the commandant. The perils, however, of this short passage induced them to seek safety upon a small island in the river, and there, it seems, was where they first set foot upon Louisiana soil. Pirogues having been procured, the Ursulines crossed from this islet to the Balize. On the last day of the month they started to ascend the river. The Mother Superior, with

**Rélation du voyage des Dames Religieuses Ursulines de Rouen à la Nouvelle Orléans. Avec une introduction et des notes par Gabriel Gravier. Paris, Maisonneuve et Ce, MDCCCLXXII.*

five of the youngest of the sisterhood, among whom was Madeleine Hachard, made the trip in a pirogue; the others of their community were in a shallop (chaloupe). The boats soon parted company, the pirogue, with superior speed, gliding ahead. Let us follow the passengers in the pirogue. They were incommoded by the constraint of their position in the narrow and unstable vessel which, by an unguarded movement, was liable to be overturned. The day's journey terminated an hour before sunset, when the party went ashore and set up their little encampment in the primeval wilderness. The pirogue's crew, with simple skill, arranged the resting places for the night. The Ursulines slept in rude cribs, which were formed by fencing in their mattresses with canes, and over each of which a fabric of cloth was spread, as a protection against insects. Such accommodations were insufficient to shelter them against inclement weather. Twice the violent downpour of rain made mire of the earth and soaked their beds and garments.

In the vicinity of New Orleans the nuns reached a populated region which was under cultivation, and whose inhabitants greeted them with demonstrations of welcome and rejoicing. At Mr. Massy's place the Ursulines made their last stop in the progress of their voyage. They had intended to remain there for several days, but intelligence being brought them that they were expected at New Orleans on the morrow, they hastened to their destination. Nocturnal shadow lingered yet along the coast as the Ursulines began the final portion of their pilgrimage. Through the declining night, onward they sped, in the slender pirogue, upon the majestic river, the darkness dwindling as they advanced. They arrived with the dawning day, bringing with them, as it were, the brightness of the morning.

On account of the early hour, there were few to witness their landing. They proceeded to find Father de Beaubois, who met them on the way. He led them to his house, where he entertained them at breakfast, which was interrupted by his many friends, who thronged to welcome the new-comers. About ten or eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the Ursulines

were conducted to the dwelling formerly occupied by Bienville, and which was assigned to them as a residence, pending the construction of their convent. This was on August 6, 1727; the others of the order reached New Orleans on the subsequent day.*

The house which was thus occupied as their temporary abode was a commodious one. It was at the southeast corner of the block now bounded by Bienville, Chartres, Conti and Royal streets. It was a two-story structure, with an attic. It had numerous and spacious windows, unglazed, but over whose framework was stretched a thin material, as translucent as glass. Appurtenant to the premises were a poultry yard and garden, and at one end and along one side of the grounds set apart for these purposes, enormous trees towered in savage grandeur.

As the nuns resided at one extremity of the town, and observed the limitations of conventual boundaries, they were, for the time being, prevented from attendance on the patients in the hospital, this institution being situated at the opposite end of New Orleans. The Ursulines, however, took up their educational work with alacrity and zeal, combating a pitiable condition of ignorance which existed in the province.

Within the enclosure of the property on which their dwelling stood, a small building was soon erected in which to teach the day scholars and to lodge the boarding pupils. By October, 1727, quite a number of applications from New Orleans and elsewhere, for admission to the boarding school, had been received.

The presence of the Ursulines was the earnest of stability to the colony. No longer, said provincial parents, do we yearn to go back to France, now that our daughters may be educated here. Thus a great desideratum was obtained, and an important benefit conferred, since among those who hitherto had felt that they were sojourners in the land arose the sentiment of the permanency of a home. As tuition was free to

*Relation du voyage des premières Ursulines à la Nouvelle Orléans et de leur établissement en cette ville. Par la Rev. Mère St. Augustin de Tranchepain, Supérieure. Nouvelle York, Isle de Manate, de la Presse Cramoisy de Jean-Marie Shea, MDCCCLIX.

the pupils of the day school, the grateful people heaped on the Ursulines evidences of an appreciative consideration. The good offices of these kind preceptors were not restricted to the whites, for they broadened the area of their usefulness by imparting instruction to Indian and negro girls and women.

An occurrence of moment in the colony's career, was the arrival at New Orleans of the casket girls, *les filles à la cassette*. An obviously wise policy had brought about this desirable accession to the population. These young women, until married, had their home with the recently established Ursuline community.

The liberal and far-sighted charity of the nuns collected in their dwelling the female orphans in New Orleans and the vicinity, and cared for and taught them, educating them, not only by mental enrichment, but also by the persuasive power of elevating association. Later, the company of the Indies made a pecuniary allowance for each orphan, who, by the company's order, should be entrusted to the sisterhood.

The dreadful massacre at Fort Rosalie occurred towards the close of 1729. The Natchez, with atrocious cruelty, wreaked their fury on the French. Men were slaughtered, women and children were led into captivity. Steps were taken for the safety of the colony, including precautions for the defense of New Orleans, and a force was despatched against the enemy. Finally, terms were made with the Indians. The girls who had been orphaned by the massacre were provided for by the compassionate nuns.

On July 17, 1734, the Ursulines removed to their convent, the present archiepiscopal residence on Chartres street, between Ursuline and Hospital streets. The midsummer day was waning to its close when, from the seclusion of their dwelling, a company of nuns came forth into the street. Soldiers formed their guard of honor; distinguished citizens attended them; the day scholars, and the children of the orphanage, recipients of their kindness, accompanied them; women with lighted tapers, girls carrying branches of verdure, priests supporting a canopy beneath which was borne the consecrated Host, took part in the procession

which wended its way towards the cloister on Chartres street. Hymns were chanted and on the air floated the pleasant melody of bells.

The period of nearly seven years which the Ursulines had passed in the house which had been assigned to them on their arrival had not gone by without occasion of sorrow to their community. Several deaths had occurred among the sisterhood. On November 11, 1733, some months before the Ursulines took possession of their convent, the Mother Superior, Marie Tranchepain de St. Augustin expired, dying, as with Biblical beauty it is told, like another Moses, within sight of the Land of Promise.

In a circular letter announcing her death, some details are preserved regarding this lady, who was so prominent in the early history of education in Louisiana. She is represented as a person of eminent administrative ability, and as possessed of qualities capable of inspiring general respect. She was of gracious address and insinuating manners; her understanding was quick and penetrating; her conversation lively, with a savor of spiritual things.

With the progress of time the story of the Ursulines impinges upon the sad recital of the dispersal of the people of Acadia. To these expatriated wanderers the Ursulines extended sympathy and aid. Martin states that the levee and square at New Orleans presented, on the arrival of the Acadians, a spectacle not unlike that which they offered at the landing of the women and children rescued from the Natchez, and that these exiles were received by the people with tenderness and hospitality. "Charity", continues the historian, "burst open the door of the cloister, and the nuns ministered with profusion and cheerfulness to the wants of the unprotected of their sex."

The course of this narrative leads to further mention of that high-spirited Norman woman, from whose lively letters to her father much of what has been here presented is derived.

I translate from a statement with which I have been favored from the records of the local convent. Marie Madeleine Hachard, known in religion as Sister Saint Stanislas, died at

the Ursuline Convent in New Orleans during the night of the 9th of August, 1760, aged fifty-six years and six months. She was buried in the cemetery of the old convent (the present archiepiscopal residence), and her remains were removed to the cemetery of the present convent. During the day of the 9th of August Sister Saint Stanislas had been busy with the boarders, and at evening had retired in good health. The next morning, as she was missed from chapel, it was conjectured that she might be ill, and her cell was visited, where she was found lifeless in her bed.

But though for the community, which very keenly felt so great a loss, this death was an event of unlooked for suddenness, it was otherwise as to this worthy sister, in whose thoughts dwelt the remembrance of death, for which every day was a preparation. She was so amiable, so charitable and obliging towards all, so devoted to her community, so zealous for God's glory and the welfare of souls, and of such exactitude in the discharge of duty, that she merited the title of "Living Rule of the House".

She was the youngest of a family of seven children. Her father, who was procurator in the Chamber of Accounts at Rouen, was noteworthy in all respects, and particularly so for his incorruptible probity. He and his wife, who was a person remarkable for her admirable qualities, neglected nothing in order to give a careful and profoundly Christian training to their children, most of whom adopted a religious vocation.

Marie Madeleine displayed from childhood much judgment, great intelligence and tender piety. Learning that an Ursuline establishment for New Orleans was in process of preparation, and that three of the nuns from the Ursuline Convent at Rouen were among the number selected for this work, she felt moved to propose herself as their associate, and to request them to allow her to share the difficulties inseparable from a new foundation. It was a cause of unfailling felicitation that they accepted her. She began her novitiate in France, and was the first to become a professed nun at New Orleans.

Thus far extends the statement.

As one reads her letters, this daughter of Normandy emerges, with peculiar vividness, from the obscurity of time.

She was of a deeply religious temperament, but to her, religion was informed with a spirit of gladness. Her disposition was singularly happy. Notwithstanding the innocent gaiety which pervaded her being, there was in her nature a vein of lofty and chivalric feeling. Proud of her Norman birth, her imagination was aflame with the exploits of her compatriots in Palestine, in England, in the wilds of the New World. She would be no unworthy descendant of an adventurous and valiant race. Nor was she. In the flower of her womanhood she consecrated, with cheerful altruism, her existence to the advantage of others. For a period prolonged beyond the meridian maturity of life, she wrought for the good of Louisiana. On the border of the great river, with which is forever connected the fame of her countryman, La Salle, she found her place of sacrifice and sepulchre.

In November, 1762, by a secret treaty, France disposed of Louisiana, west of the Mississippi River, together with New Orleans and the island territory about its site, to Spain. Intelligence of the proposed transfer was officially made known by the promulgation by the Director General, D'Abadie, of the instructions received by him from the French King for observance of the treaty. This information as to the cession sorely afflicted the colonists. They made unavailing effort to induce the French Government to withhold compliance with the treaty. Spain procrastinated in taking possession but, at length, Don Antonio de Ulloa landed at New Orleans in 1766, having previously announced his coming, from Havana, as the representative of Spanish sovereignty. He declined to exhibit his commission and refrained from exacting formal delivery of the province. Agitation culminated in the demand that Ulloa should leave the colony. He sailed to Havana.

In the troublous time, before the firm grasp of Spain was felt, application was made, although unsuccessfully, by the Louisianians to the English Governor at Pensacola for assistance; and there were those among the colonists who indulged in a wild and transient dream of independence.

Don Alexandro O'Reilly arrived in New Orleans in the summer of 1769, and the formal transfer of the province was accomplished with military pageantry.

The conduct of the people towards Ulloa was to meet with fearful retribution.

The apprehension which disturbed the colonists had been somewhat allayed by the sleek courtesy of O'Reilly, but soon after his installation in authority he took measures initiatory to the deed of blood which has befouled his administration. Twelve persons were placed under arrest, one of whom, Villeré, died in imprisonment. Different versions of his death are given. The remaining eleven were put on trial and five of them were condemned to death. The sentence was carried into effect by shooting. The execution took place on October 25, 1769, in the barrack yard, adjoining the property where the Ursulines then resided.

To that convent had repaired the kindred of the unfortunate men, whose lives were, on that autumnal afternoon, violently to end. The relatives of the doomed patriots congregated in the chapel and united their prayers with those of the nuns. The suppliants could hear from beyond the walls of their retreat the stir of preparation. The report of fire arms rang out harshly; the windows of the chapel shook with the concussion; the awful tragedy was consummated.

By the kindness of the reverend ladies in authority at the Ursuline Convent in this city, I have been furnished with an extract from the conventual archives, which is as follows:

Les sieurs Nicolas Chauvin de Lafrenière, Jean Baptiste Noyan, Pierre Caresse, Pierre Marquis et Joseph Milhet, condamnés à mort par O'Reilly, comme chefs de la révolte contre l'Espagne, à l'époque de la cession de la Louisiane, furent fusillés, le 25 Octobre 1769, dans la cour de la Caserne, terrain limitrophe à celui du Couvent des Ursulines. Ce fut un terrible moment d'angoisse pour les religieuses. Les décharges firent trembler les vitraux de leur Chapelle, où s'étaient réfugiés les parents des victimes, et avec lesquels elles priaient.

In 1770 the Ursulines were relieved, by papal dispensation, from duty at the hospital.

Information that, by the treaty of St. Ildefonso, agreement had been made for the retrocession of Louisiana to France, induced a number of the nuns to leave their community at New Orleans. The excesses which had been perpetrated during the French Revolution caused those who so withdrew, and who, with few exceptions, were of Spanish nationality, to shrink from the sway of the Government then in power in France, and they retired to Havana.

The second period of French dominion over Louisiana was very short. Another transfer was soon effected and Louisiana was added to the domain of the United States.

Concerned as to the consequences which might ensue to the Ursuline community from the acquisition of Louisiana by the American Republic, the Mother Superior wrote to the President of the United States and received from him a reassuring answer. "Whatever diversity of shade," said the illustrious Jefferson in his reply, "may appear in the religious opinions of our fellow-citizens, the charitable objects of your institution cannot be indifferent to any; and its furtherance of the wholesome purposes of society, by training up its younger members in the way they should go, cannot fail to insure it the patronage of the government it is under. Be assured it will meet with all the protection which my office can give it."

War broke out between the United States and Great Britain. An expedition was directed against New Orleans. The battle of the 8th of January, 1815, resulted in the disastrous defeat of the invaders. In the period of the city's dread anxiety and peril, the Ursulines invoked Divine assistance that victory might be won by the soldiery of the Republic. Andrew Jackson, in the flush of brilliant triumph, visited the convent and thanked these pious women for their prayers for his success. What a scene was this,—the victorious warrior expressing gratitude to these nuns for the petitions which they had offered for celestial aid in his behalf. What a subject to be represented in stone or in metal, or upon the painted canvas.

And not alone by fervent supplication did the Ursulines evince their sympathetic patriotism. The sick and wounded soldiers were received at the convent and lodged in the class rooms of the day scholars where, for three months they were cared for by the nuns.

In 1824 the Ursulines removed to their present convent, near the lower limits of the city. There, also, Andrew Jackson visited the nuns. This was in 1828. The political campaign which eventuated in his election to the presidency had opened. Jackson had come to New Orleans upon the invitation of the Louisiana legislature to participate in the celebration of the thirteenth anniversary of the victory at Chalmette. He was accompanied to the convent by several of his staff and by some of the most distinguished men and women of this city. The convent's cloistered precincts were opened to the renowned guest and to those who were with him. It may be that among these surroundings the chieftain's thoughts were diverted from the presidential contest, that the suggestions of ambition receded before grateful reminiscence of the nuns who, thirteen years before, had prayed for victory to his battalions.

Such, in brief, is the story of our Ursulines. They were the pioneers of female education in Louisiana. Here their order still pursues its high and useful calling. The town which Madeleine Hachard wrote might possibly, in the future, rival the principal cities of France, has grown to metropolitan stature, and has numerous institutions for female instruction. Amid the advantages of the present, let not the difficulties of the past be forgotten. Let us turn from the later effulgence to the early glimmerings of the day, and yield a tribute of admiration and regard to those great-hearted women who, in the morning of our history, were at work, scattering broadcast the seeds of goodly knowledge.

TRAITÉ DE LA COMPAGNIE DES INDES AVEC LES URSULINES.*

(Régistre des Comptes des Indes. TOME 2. Au Dépôt des
Chartes et Archives de la Marine.)

La Compagnie ayant considéré que les fondements les plus solides de la Colonie de la Louisiane sont les Etablissements qui tendent à l'avancement de la GLOIRE DE DIEU, et à l'éducation des peuples, tels que sont ceux qu'elle y a faits des Revs. Pères Capucins et des Revs. Pères Jésuites, dont le zèle et la charité assurent les secours spirituels aux habitants et donnent une grande espérance pour la conversion des sauvages; et voulant encore par un nouvel Etablissement aussi pieux soulager les pauvres malades et pourvoir en même temps à l'éducation des jeunes filles, elle a agréé et accepté les offres qui lui ont été faites par les Soeurs Marie Tranchepain de St. Augustin et Marianne de Ste. Angélique, des Ursulines de Rouen, assistées de Soeur Catherine de Bruscoly de St. Amand, première Supérieure des Ursulines de France, de se charger du soin de l'hôpital de la Nouvelle-Orléans, aux conditions suivantes:

ARTICLE 1. La Compagnie entretiendra à l'hôpital six religieuses, la supérieure y comprise, et accordera à chacune cinq cents livres de gratification pour leur faciliter les moyens de faire leur voyage; elles auront leur passage gratis et celui de quatre servantes sur les vaisseaux de la Compagnie.

ARTICLE 2. Lorsqu'elles seront arrivées à la Louisiane elles seront mises en possession de l'hôpital en l'état qu'il est, savoir: La maison et ses dépendances, le tout paraissant consister en une salle qui peut contenir soixante ou quatrevingts malades; un corps de logis où sont établis l'économe, les infirmiers et les cuisiniers et une salle que l'on projetait de construire pour les convalescents et qui doit être faite à présent.

ARTICLE 3. Ces six religieuses s'arrangeront dans ces logements du mieux qu'il leur sera possible, en attendant que la Compagnie leur fasse construire des bâtimens convenables à leur Etablissement, ce qui s'exécutera peu à peu, suivant que

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les fonds de l'hôpital et ceux destinés aux fortifications et constructions des bâtimens de la Colonie, pourront le permettre.

ARTICLE 4. Il sera concédé au dit hôpital un emplacement assez grand, joignant la maison, tant pour y construire les nouveaux bâtimens dont on pourra avoir besoin, que pour y faire une basse-cour et un jardin pour les religieuses.

ARTICLE 5. Les nègres, négresses, bestiaux, meubles, lits, linge et ustensiles destinés pour l'usage de l'hôpital, et tout ce dont il faudra pourvoir encore pour le service des malades, sera remis par inventaire aux religieuses qui seront tenues d'en rendre compte à la Compagnie.

ARTICLE 6. La supérieure destinera une religieuse pour économe, laquelle en cette qualité sera chargée de tous les effets de l'hôpital et de tout ce qui y sera fourni pour la subsistance des malades; elle destinera deux autres religieuses pour être continuellement occupées au services des malades, une autre pour tenir l'école des jeunes filles et la sixième servira d'aide à celles qui se trouveront trop surchargées dans leurs fonctions, et elle sera toujours prête à remplacer celles de ses soeurs qui, par indisposition, seraient hors d'état d'agir.

ARTICLE 7. Les religieuses ne pourront disposer d'aucun fond ou effet appartenant à l'hôpital, sans le consentement des administrateurs porté par délibération prise en leur conseil, qui se tiendra pour cet effet toutes les fois qu'il sera jugé à propos et qui sera composé, savoir: du Commandant Général de la Colonie, du Premier Conseiller du Conseil Supérieur, qui pourra se substituer un autre conseiller; du Procureur Général; du Curé de la Nouvelle-Orléans, du Supérieur des Jésuites, de deux notables habitants qui seront élus par le Conseil Supérieur, en appelant les administrateurs à l'élection, et qui seront changés tous les deux ans, en sorte qu'il en reste un des deux, et du médecin entretenu par le roi.

La Supérieure de l'hôpital aura entrée à ce Conseil lorsqu'elle aura quelque chose à proposer, sans avoir pourtant voix délibérative.

ARTICLE 8. Il sera tenu par les soins des Administrateurs un compte rendu exact des biens de l'hôpital et l'emploi en

sera fait par leurs ordres, ainsi que de tout ce qui pourra lui revenir par legs, donations et amendes, lesquels ne pourront jamais être appliqués aux religieuses.

ARTICLE 9. La Compagnie concédera, en propriété au dit hôpital un terrain de huit arpents de front, sur la profondeur ordinaire, le long du fleuve, le plus près qu'il se pourra de la Nouvelle-Orléans, afin d'y former une habitation qui puisse pourvoir dans la suite à l'entretien des Ursulines à cause du dit hôpital.

ARTICLE 10. Il sera concédé par la Compagnie trois cents livres par an, à celui qui prendra soin de la dite habitation pendant les cinq premières années seulement.

ARTICLE 11. Tant que la dite habitation ne sera point en état de pourvoir à l'entretien et à la subsistance des dites religieuses, la Compagnie leur accordera à chacune six cents livres par an, pour toutes choses, qui commenceront à courir du jour de leur arrivée au port de l'embarquement, mais sitôt que la dite habitation produira suffisamment pour fournir à leurs dépenses, cette pension cessera de leur être payée, et les dites religieuses disposeront du revenu de la dite habitation comme chose uniquement affectée à leur entretien et à leur subsistance.

ARTICLE 12. Il leur sera fourni par la Compagnie, pendant chacune des cinq premières années de l'établissement de la dite habitation, huit nègres, (pièce d'Inde) qui seront, par les dites Ursulines, payés dans les mêmes termes et aux mêmes conditions réglées pour les habitants, au moyen de quoi la Compagnie cessera de leur payer la pension annuelle de six cents livres à chacune, lors de l'expiration des cinq premières années qui commenceront à courir du jour de la livraison des huit premiers nègres.

ARTICLE 13. Si par quelque événement les Ursulines cessaient de prendre soin de l'hôpital, elles seraient obligées de remettre à ceux ou celles qui les remplaceraient, l'hôpital, l'habitation et tout ce qu'elles auraient reçu par inventaire. Quant à ce qui est de leurs hardes, des meubles, bestiaux, nègres &c. qu'elles auraient acquis, elles en disposeront comme de choses à elles appartenant, et seraient remboursées des bâti-

ments qu'elles auront fait construire à leurs dépens soit sur le terrain de l'hôpital, soit sur l'habitation; pourvu que les dites constructions eussent été faites du consentement du Conseil Supérieur: elles seraient aussi remboursées de la dépense des défrichements faits sur le terrain de l'habitation; le tout suivant l'estimation qui en sera faite. Les dites religieuses ne pouvant être obligées de remettre à leurs successeurs que ce qu'elles auraient reçu de la Compagnie de l'hôpital.

ARTICLE 14. La Compagnie fera fournir aux dites religieuses tout ce qui sera nécessaire pour la subsistance des malades de l'hôpital et l'économe s'en chargera en recette sur un registre paraphé par les administrateurs, en ouvrant un compte à chaque nature de vivre: dans lequel registre elle portera toutes les consommations jour par jour, ce, pour être les dits comptes arrêtés par les Administrateurs, à la fin de chaque mois.

ARTICLE 15. Mais comme il convient que les religieuses aient la liberté de vivre à leur manière, elles auront pour elles en particulier, une dépositaire outre celle qui sera la dépositaire de l'hôpital, et qui sera comptable à sa supérieure pour pourvoir aux besoins des soeurs sur leurs fonds, comme pensions et revenus des habitations, et elles se gouverneront pour l'intérieur de la maison selon leur règle et l'esprit de leur Institut sans que le service de l'hôpital en souffre le moins du monde.

ARTICLE 16. La Supérieure fera tenir un journal exact des malades qui entreront au dit hôpital et de ceux qui en sortiront par décès ou autrement.

ARTICLE 17. Tous les malades de maladies ordinaires et non incurables seront reçus à l'hôpital sur un billet du médecin, et en son absence, du chirurgien major, et s'ils sont pauvres, ils seront traités gratis en rapportant un certificat de leur curé, visé du Procureur général, qu'ils n'ont pas les moyens de payer.

ARTICLE 18. Les habitants qui ne se trouveront pas dans le même cas, et qui se feront porter à l'hôpital seront obligés de payer la somme qui sera réglée par les administrateurs de

l'hôpital, et les deniers seront remis à l'économe pour être portés en compte.

ARTICLE 19. Tous gens au service de la Compagnie qui seront malades, seront reçus par préférence à l'hôpital, et les rations dont ils jouissent appartiendront à l'hôpital auquel il en sera tenu compte par la Compagnie pour le temps qu'ils y auront séjourné.

ARTICLE 20. Il sera pareillement tenu compte à l'hôpital du prêt des soldats malades pendant le séjour qu'ils y feront.

ARTICLE 21. Les administrateurs auront attention d'établir à l'hôpital un lieu séparé et distingué, où les officiers et employés de la Compagnie qui seront malades puissent se faire porter pour y être traités, et les administrateurs régleront ce qui sera retenu pour chaque journée sur les appointements des dits officiers, et employé au profit de l'hôpital.

ARTICLE 22. Les religieuses qui auront soin des malades ne permettront point qu'aucun d'eux, même des convalescents, prenne d'autres aliments que ceux qui seront fournis de la maison.

ARTICLE 23. Pour donner à l'hôpital les moyens de pourvoir à une partie de ses dépenses, il lui sera concédé par la Compagnie, le plus près qu'il se pourra de la maison du dit hôpital, un terrain de huit arpents de front sur la proportion ordinaire, pour y former une habitation sur laquelle il sera cultivé des vivres et élevé des bestiaux pour la consommation de la maison; et le revenu de cette habitation, en quelque chose qu'il puisse consister, appartiendra au dit hôpital, mais il sera ouvert un compte particulier à la dite habitation dans lequel elle sera débitée de tout ce qui lui sera fourni par la Compagnie, et créditée de ses produits, afin que quand le dit hôpital sera en état de se passer des charités de la Compagnie, il soit tenu de payer à la Compagnie, les sommes dont il lui sera redevable pour l'habitation.

ARTICLE 24. Lorsque les religieuses le pourront faire commodément, elles prendront, si elles le jugent à propos des filles pensionnaires sur le pied que la supérieure l'aura réglé, et le payement des pensions sera remis entre les mains de la

Dépositaire des religieuses, mais aucune de celles qui seront chargées du soin des malades n'en sera détournée, ni appliquée au soin de l'éducation des pensionnaires.

ARTICLE 25. Aussitôt que les revenus de l'habitation seront assez forts pour l'entretien de la subsistance des dites six religieuses, elles pourront augmenter leur nombre si elles le jugent à propos, à proportion des revenus, et le passage seulement sera accordé gratis à celles qu'elles feront venir de France, mais elles ne pourront point recevoir pour religieuse aucune fille née dans le pays sans la permission et l'agrément du Conseil.

ARTICLE 26. Si quelque religieuse ne pouvant s'accommoder du pays, ou pour quelqu'autre raison particulière, était obligée de repasser en France, elle aura son passage gratis, pour elle et une servante, et sa pension cessera du jour de l'embarquement.

ARTICLE 27. Si quelque religieuse devenait par infirmité hors d'état d'agir, elle ne fera plus partie du nombre des six qui devaient être entretenues, et cependant elle sera également traitée pendant sa vie aux dépens de l'hôpital, au cas que les religieuses ne fussent pas encore en état de se passer de ce secours.

ARTICLE 28. Le present TRAITÉ sera adressé au Conseil de la LOUISIANE pour y être enregistré, et en cas de contestation sur les articles qu'il contient, elles seront décidées par le Conseil, au jugement duquel les parties se sont soumises.

Fait à PARIS, en l'Hôtel de la COMPAGNIE des INDES, le 13 Septembre 1726. SIGNÉS:

L'abbé *RAGUET*.—*J. MORIN*.—*D'ARTAGUETTE-DIRON*.—*CASTANIER*.—*DESHAYER*.—*P. SAINTARD*.

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Soeur *MARIE TRANCHEPAIN* de *St. AUGUSTIN*, Supérieure.

Soeur *MARIE-ANNE BOULLENGER* de *Ste. ANGÉLIQUE*, Dépositaire.

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